

AMERICA

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Chronicle

Home News.—Since the purpose of the Federal Reserve Board in buying Government securities from the banks, thus releasing in them credit for use in industry, had not been attained, a committee of twelve bankers and industrialists under Owen D. Young was formed for the purpose of helping to put to work this credit. President Hoover hoped that other committees would be formed. The first action of the New York committee was to arrange for funds for the savings and loan associations in New York for the immediate purpose of refinancing maturing mortgages of small home owners. Meanwhile, in Washington plans were being matured among the Democrats for a program for unemployment relief and stimulation of business through a Federal bond issue. On May 25, Senator Wagner introduced a bill that would provide an aggregate of \$2,300,000,000. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation would divide \$300,000,000 among the States for immediate relief, to be paid back from their Federal highway grants. The same Corporation would borrow \$1,500,000,000, to be used for self-liquidating enterprises and partly for financing agricultural exports. A Federal bond issue of \$500,000,000 would be made, the proceeds to be used on projects specified in the bill or to be selected by the President. The

Relief
Measures

Administration was not disposed to accept all of this and was making efforts to increase the lending capacity of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Hearings on the Hancock birth-control bill were had before the House Ways and Means Committee, which voted against the bill by twenty to four. The subcommittee of the Judiciary of the Senate also heard arguments on the Hatfield bill, but had made no decision as yet.

The tax bill remained in debate in the Senate. Tariff duties in oil, coal, lumber, and copper were introduced into the bill while the export debenture plan was defeated, as was the Bingham amendment to legalize beer as a basis of taxation.

Prohibition filled the foreground of political debate during the week. It became apparent that the Administration was working on a plan of resubmission of the Eighteenth Amendment to the States, by which the Amendment would stand but the enforcement of it and the content of alcohol involved would be set by the States themselves.—The Socialist party held its convention at Milwaukee and made Norman Thomas its candidate for President and James H. Maurer candidate for Vice President. Besides the usual resolutions, the convention adopted a plank for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Austria.—The recent elections in Austria greatly strengthened the position of the National Socialists who followed the organization plans of the Nazis in Germany, and who called upon Herr Hitler to be one of their leaders in the organization of their forces. Parties of the opposition were weakened, and the Pan-German and Landbund groups were almost wiped out. The various Socialist parties were much reduced in representation, including the more moderate. While the Council of the League of Nations seemed more kindly disposed to yield to the urgent recommendation of the Austrian Government for a stop-gap loan which had been strenuously opposed by France and England, the plan was held up pending discussion of ways and means and, as was thought, awaiting the formation of a new Government in France. In the meantime, financial conditions were so bad that the Cabinet was considering a transfer moratorium of external debts. AMERICA's correspondent in Austria reported the sympathetic sorrow attested by non-Catholics as well as Catholics over the irreparable loss which the nation sustained in the death of Cardinal Piffl. Particularly his devotion and efficient charity to all the poor won encomiums in the non-Catholic press.

National
Socialists
Triumph

Cuba.—On May 19, the Republic's anniversary, the police arrested 60 persons suspected of plotting a revolutionary uprising. Several days later Lieutenant Diaz, a prominent military official, was killed by the explosion of a bomb delivered to him through the mails; the authorities by quick action prevented the similar assassination of several other high-ranking officers. On May 23, Colonels Mendieta and Peñate, leaders of the unsuccessful revolt last August, were arrested on suspicion of having been involved in the rebellion. Former President Menocal, fearing arrest, took refuge in the Brazilian Legation. The arrests at this time numbered 250. Opponents of the present Government indignantly denounced the Government's activities as retaliatory measures by the Administration. The Government claimed, however, to have discovered a carefully planned rebellion. A censorship was placed upon the telegraph lines and the press.

Czechoslovakia.—M. Mlčoch, who resigned on April 9, was succeeded by M. Hula as Minister of Railways. The latter inaugurated a ten years' program to reduce the heavy annual deficit in the railways. The balance of foreign trade for March, 1932, showed a surplus of 77,500,000 crowns. M. Bat'a of Zlin, the head of the world's largest footwear concern, which so far had withstood the world depression, stated that at the end of April he saw himself obliged to dismiss a number of his workers in consequence of foreign tariffs.

Herr Hitler's success in Germany was reported as winning him many supporters in the German districts of Czechoslovakia, whose organizations were in close contact with headquarters at Munich, openly holding military maneuvers and preparing for the day of reunion with Germany. Mild attempts were made at repression on the part of the Government.

Finland.—The Finnish Officers' Union unanimously decided at its annual meeting that it was not fitting that any officer should belong to the Masonic Order, declaring that its aims and activities were kept secret and members taking the oath of allegiance did so in ignorance of their future obligations. The decision was the result of the findings of a special delegation.

France.—On May 24, in a conference, said by the press to be one of the most curious political conferences held for a long time, Premier Tardieu and Edouard Herriot met in the presence of President Lebrun and for two hours discussed the inheritance of national and international affairs whose direction the defeated Premier was relinquishing to his probable successor. M. Tardieu, it was said, set forth chiefly the position of France with regard to reparations, disarmament, and the Danubian countries. Finance Minister Flandin, who also took part in the meeting, explained the financial situation, the dif-

ficult affairs of the Treasury, and the budget, to the man who, as the press pointed out, had been widely accused of ruining the franc. At the close of the conversation a brief communiqué, without details and merely stating that the meeting had been held, was issued to the public. —With regard to the formation and support of the new Cabinet the press reported that M. Herriot was proceeding with unusual caution in view of the reported split in the Socialist ranks as well as the rumored division in his own followers between those desiring to form a Left Center and those wanting a wholly Left majority. Apparently M. Herriot was not explicitly seeking the cooperation of the Socialists as he did in 1924, but instead was allowing them to propose conditions. A number of Socialist organizations had already voiced their terms for collaborating with and supporting the Radical Socialist government, their program being chiefly the reduction of military expenses, unemployment insurance, and the control of banks. It was expected that M. Herriot would be asked to form a Government shortly after the newly elected Chamber of Deputies met on June 2.

Germany.—On May 25, a storm broke out at the second day of the Prussian Diet, with furniture dismantled to supply ammunition, and ink-wells, books, card indexes, and fists flying in all directions, until the legislative hall was a scene of wreckage, and a dozen or more deputies were on the floor bleeding and unconscious, needing medical attention. The fury of passion was unleashed when a Communist deputy, Wilhelm Pieck, declared that the Nazi organization harbored murderers. The presiding officers had been elected and adjournment to June 1 had been voted. When the bedlam had continued for nearly half an hour, it became plain that debate was impossible; the President withdrew with non-combatant members, automatically ending the session. Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia, now a Nazi delegate, watched the battle from the side.

In electing a President of the Diet, the old custom was permitted to prevail, giving the place to a representative of the body with the largest membership. This was made possible by the cooperation of the Catholic Center, which chose to give its support to the Nazi candidate, Hans Kerrl, who was elected President. Herr Ernst Wirthmaack, a member of the Social Democratic party, was made first Vice-President. It was recalled that this same Hans Kerrl had blasphemously compared Hitler to Christ and the Holy Ghost.

During adjournment of the Diet efforts were to be made to select the new Cabinet. It was generally held that it would be no easy problem. Hitler had gone on record that his men would not join a coalition, and his party seemed determined to fight until Bruening and the present Government had been removed from the picture. Rumors were afloat that Bruening was losing his power with President von Hindenburg and might be forced to resign. Another emergency tax decree was needed, but

Revolution
Suppressed

Economic
Situation

Hitlerism

Ban on
Masons

Preparations
for New
Cabinet

Battle Staged
in Prussian
Diet

Hans Kerrl
Elected
President

Difficulties Arise
in Forming
Cabinet

whether the President would grant his approval and signature was problematical. Many looked for the end of the Bruening regime in the face of the intense opposition and power of the Nazis and the deadlock which was threatening local and national action.

India.—After a period of quiet lasting several months, two series of disorders occurred. The first concerned the attempts to hold the meeting of the All-India National

Nationalist Outbreak

Congress at New Delhi. Both the organization and the Congress were banned by the Government. Prior to the day set for the meeting, the Government arrested Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in Bombay; next to Mahatma Gandhi she was the most prominent popular leader in the civil-disobedience campaign. She was sentenced to imprisonment for a year. The next arrest was that of Pandit Mohan Malaviya, who became President of the Congress in succession to Mrs. Naidu. He entered New Delhi in opposition to the Government orders. About 370 members of the Congress were also taken into custody by the authorities. Since the Congress could not hold its sessions, the Nationalists broke out in street demonstrations and rioting. Since the passing of the ordinances prohibiting Nationalist activities last year, about 50,000 supporters of the movement have been arrested and sentenced to long or short terms.

Another series of outbreaks occurred between Hindus and Moslem in connection with the celebration of the Moslem New Year. The ancient religious antagonism

Hindu-Moslem Riots

had been intensified during the past few years by political rivalries aroused mostly at the Indian Round Table Conferences. The clashes were more violent in Bombay, but were also serious to Calcutta and the smaller cities. They began in the middle of May and lasted for more than a week. During that time, the casualties amounted to more than 160 dead and nearly 2,000 wounded. About 1,500 persons were arrested. Temples and mosques were attacked, stores were looted, other property damage was effected, so that Bombay had to be put under a heavy military guard.

Ireland.—After the passage by the Dail of the measure to remove the Oath from the Free State Constitution, as recorded last week, the bill was forwarded to the Senate.

Progress of Oath Discussion

It was introduced on May 25, and the first reading passed without comment. Since President De Valera holds only a minority in the Senate, it was predicted that the bill would be obstructed and vitally amended. A correspondent asserted that the Senate would not immediately defeat the bill lest that action might occasion a general election. The Senate, it was thought, would attempt to delay action until later in the year. On the day following the passage of the bill by the Dail, J. H. Thomas, British Secretary for the Dominions, repeated in a public speech at Brighton his warnings to the Free State Government. His tone, however, was milder. Referring to the statements he had already made, he asserted:

By every word of these statements I stand, but I want to make it absolutely clear in making them that I was not basing our position on any constitutional theory or question of status, but simply on the sanctity of treaties and the maintenance of agreements. How could we negotiate fresh agreements with the Free State if the existing ones were not observed? How could we suppose greater sanctity would be attached to an agreement made at Ottawa than to one in London?

President De Valera, speaking two days later, said in partial answer:

Mr. Thomas alludes to the sanctity of the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921. Why omit later agreements which embody the Imperial Conference reports of 1926 and 1930? We are as much concerned as Mr. Thomas about the preservation of friendly relations between the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain. But in what conceivable way can the oath bill injure the people of Britain?

Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, on May 24, in his Empire Day radio speech affirmed Mr. Thomas' statement in regard to the content of the problem and the method employed:

A method which regards treaties as scraps of paper, to be altered or ended as suits either party is a method of disunity. If we speak of the sacredness of treaties, we do so not because we think the contents of the treaties themselves are sacred, but because we are convinced the treaty method of discussion and negotiation is the only way whereby stability, peace, and confidence can be maintained.

These statements would seem to change the bases of discussion between the two countries from that of rights to that of procedure.

Japan.—On May 22, upon recommendation of Prince Saionji, Elder Statesman, the Emperor ordered Admiral Viscount Makoto Saito to form a Coalition cabinet. Saito,

New Premier; National Cabinet

a liberal, former Governor of Korea, and a delegate to the 1927 Geneva naval conference, accepted the imperial edict and thus became non-party Premier of Japan, succeeding Ki Inukai, who had been assassinated during the previous week. Press comment was generally favorable, and the belief was widely expressed that Saito would restore stability. Diplomatic circles, however, looked upon the selection as a compromise between military and civilian partisans. It was openly said in some quarters that the selection of the retired Admiral was the last stand of the civilian elements and that the full fascist or military element would soon be in power. Hence in diplomatic circles the political situation was regarded as potentially serious and only temporarily solved. Prince Saionji, before recommending Saito, consulted three former Premiers, many statesmen, and the heads of the army and navy. He decided, it was reported, that only a National cabinet could allay the unrest in the army and restore public confidence. The new Cabinet was picked on May 26 and proved to be a compromise selection representing all the leading elements. The Seiyukai, the majority party, got three posts; the Minseito, its largest rival, got two; the military elements were given two Ministers, and the various non-party men four. Viscount Saito temporarily took the Foreign Affairs portfolio. The rest of the personnel follows: War, General Sadao Araki; Navy, Admiral Keisuke Okada; Finance, Korekiyo Takahashi; Home Affairs,

Baron Tatsuo Yamamoto; Colonial Affairs, Ryutaro Nagai; Railways, Chuza Mitsuchi; Justice, Matsukichi Koyama; Education, Ichiro Hatoyama; Agriculture, Fumio Goto; Commerce, Baron Kumachi Nakajima.

On May 24, two Japanese divisions under General Shigeru Honjo made a vigorous drive against the Chinese insurgents in Manchuria and advanced into Hulan, four miles north of Harbin. On the following day it was reported that the whole main line of the Chinese Eastern Railway had been closed to traffic. Since the road is of immense political, strategic, and economic importance to the Soviet Union, fears were renewed that the long-predicted Russo-Japanese clash might soon be precipitated. On May 25, however, a Paris dispatch stated that the Japanese Government was engaged in an effort to buy the titular ownership of the railroad from a French bank, which operates it in conjunction with the Chinese Government.

Jugoslavia.—The editor of the official news agency, with Dr. Dragoljub Jovanovitch, Belgrade University professor, and a dozen other Serbian intellectuals, were arrested on a charge of conspiracy against the regime. At the same time, relations between the Serbs and Croats were reported as growing continually more strained. The economic situation was reported as growing steadily worse.

Mexico.—The President decreed that all foreign banks would be hereafter required to obtain a sort of affiliation with the Bank of Mexico. This news, at first alarming, was later explained as setting up a species of Federal Reserve, and far from hampering foreign banks, would actually supply them with a new means of rediscounting their paper.—Following the law authorizing the Governor of Hidalgo to seize public utilities, the French-owned Cruz Azul Portland cement factory in Tula was taken over and handed to the workers.—The State of Mexico, surrounding the Federal District, passed a law limiting the number of priests to thirty-four for the entire State. Thus the anti-religious campaign went on and Catholics in Mexico City, who had been going to Mass in the State, would hereafter be hindered from doing so.

Panama.—Because of "political tension which threatened grave disorder unless energetic measures were taken," President Ricardo Alfaro assumed personal charge of the national police in a decree dated May 19. The decree drastically restricted all popular manifestations and political processions and entirely forbade the free distribution of intoxicants and the carrying of firearms. Provision was made also for the formation of a civil guard of responsible citizens, and the firemen were ordered to reinforce the police until the close of the elections on June 5.—Dr. Harmodio Arias, presidential candidate of the Doctrinal Liberal party, stated in an interview given to the press on May 18 that if elected he

would "take away from the Chief Executive's office the autocratic power that has resulted in the country being ruled by a small clique of politicians." He also emphasized the need for fiscal reform and for maintaining the service on the foreign debt.

Peru.—Because of criticism in Congress aroused by the imprisonment of a deputy, the Cabinet, headed by Minister of the Interior Flores, resigned on May 20. A new Cabinet was sworn in soon afterward. Ricardo Rivadeneira was chosen as Premier with the portfolio of the Ministry of Justice; two new members—Señores Chavez and Caso—took the portfolios of the Interior and Public Works respectively; the four other members were retained from the previous Cabinet.

League of Nations.—The Council of the League approved on May 20 the draft plan for the rehabilitation of Liberia which Viscount Cecil's committee had drawn up to serve as the basis of negotiations which the Council desired to begin in August with the Liberian Government, the American Finance Corporation, and the Firestone Plantations Company. A League representative was to be dispatched to the Kru region, where the Liberian militia recently killed many natives. A memorandum was appended to the plan which had been offered by Samuel Reber, Jr., the American member of the Liberian committee, declaring that adequate authority should be delegated by an international agency to a single person to assist Liberia in instituting reforms. Unless the Liberian Government would immediately institute reforms, the United States Government would find it necessary to reserve its position and full liberty of action.—The Council approved on May 19 the terms of the draft declaration required from Iraq in order to join the League and attain independence. Freedom for minorities was secured by a bill of rights.

There is a Bishop in the Anglican Church in England, Bishop Barnes, who is a spokesman for most of the radical change in religion which we associate in this country with modernism. Hilaire Belloc will tilt at Bishop Barnes next week in an article entitled "The Devil Is No Half-Wit."

From a study of original sources in Russian John LaFarge has written a paper called "Three Problems of Soviet Russia." It will be a picture with information about Russia which Americans could get in no other way.

"Is the Church Dying?" will be an interesting confrontation of some dicta of Protestant ministers and the facts as revealed by recent news dispatches. Its author will be another editor of AMERICA, Florence David Sullivan.

James William Fitz Patrick found a waif on New York's streets who told him a wistful story of fortune telling. The result is a piece which he calls "A Son of En-dor."

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The Methodists on Divorce

IT is with deep regret that we observe the action taken on divorce by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, recently in session at Atlantic City. In our opinion, the effect will be to strengthen the very "divorce mills" against which the Conference protests.

The subject was discussed at the Conference in Kansas City four years ago, and it was plain that the delegates were earnest in their desire to destroy, or at least lessen, our national divorce scandal. The legislation then adopted forbade the clergy to officiate at marriages when one of the parties had been divorced, unless it was clearly established that the cause for this divorce was marital infidelity. This ruling was opposed, it would appear, by a vigorous minority, and the whole matter was reviewed last week at Atlantic City. The Conference then voted to add to its ruling that the only cause for divorce was adultery, the commentary, "or other vicious conditions which through mental or physical cruelty, or physical peril, invalidated the marriage vow."

Taken in its most inclusive sense, this ruling imposes no stricter obligation than would be demanded by any court in Reno. Doubtless, that possibility was far from the mind of the Conference, but if a divorce granted by a court for "mental cruelty" is accepted by the Methodist Church, no other conclusion is possible. The whole history of divorce shows clearly that if divorce and re-marriage are permitted for one cause, human nature will find reasons why they should be permitted for any cause. Remove one part of the barrier against the flood of human passion, and within a brief period the barrier is down, and the unhallowed waters will submerge the whole country. In a matter which can, and generally does, involve yielding not only to man's basest passions, but also an admission that men and women need not necessarily be

faithful to their most solemnly pledged word, there can be no question of compromise. From divorce "for one cause only" to divorce "for mental cruelty," which usually means divorce because one or both parties wish it, this national scandal marches on a wide and easy road. One ruling only can stop it, and that is, divorce and re-marriage for no cause whatever.

However, there is some encouragement in the fact that the Conference has repealed its ruling made four years ago, reading, "We recognize as lawful a divorce granted by the State." Yet this encouragement is somewhat dampened by our fear that the Conference did not fully understand the full meaning of its repeal. Taken literally, the words mean a rejection by the Methodist Church of the old Protestant contention that jurisdiction in cases involving, and arising from, matrimony is vested exclusively in the State. If that literal interpretation is correct, the Methodist Church may be congratulated on liberating itself from a degrading form of State worship.

The Birth-Control Bill

BY a vote of twenty to four, the House Committee on Ways and Means reported unfavorably on the Hancock birth-control bill. This rejection means that the bill cannot be taken up again, even by special vote, at the present session.

It was expected that the Committee would reject the bill, but not by so preponderant a majority. The proponents of the bill had carefully marshalled their forces, and it may be said for them that they used every means in their power to influence the Committee for a favorable decision. For the opponents, while no extended preparations had been made, the case was presented ably.

No time was lost in making the usual charge that the bill was defeated "by the Catholic interests." It is probably true that the fight on the bill was led by Catholics, but it is by no means true that all the opponents were members of the Catholic Church. The Catholic position on contraception is shared by millions who have no affiliations whatever with the Church. When in an unfortunate report, the Federal Council of Churches countenanced contraception last year, leaders in the Lutheran Church at once protested, and their protest was repeated by many congregations. And although at least one rabbi appeared before the Committee to approve the Hancock bill, we do not believe that he represented the majority opinion of the Jews.

While the House bill has been disposed of for this session, the fight is by no means at an end. "The interests," to borrow a phrase from our friend the enemy, are too determined and too well organized to acquiesce tamely in defeat. It has been said that the proponents of the bill did not expect approval by the House Committee, but only some advertising, and the many commercial aspects connected with the birth-control movement give more than a color of truth to this assertion. Freedom to circulate price lists and noisome wares through the mails, is all that is needed to insure a most profitable commercial enterprise. The facts brought out by Mrs.

McGoldrick about what is already being done deserves the attention of the Government.

The outcome of the battle so far this year is encouraging, but one battle does not win a war. It does not even win a campaign. The war has only begun, as far as Congress is concerned, and forgetfulness of that fact means defeat. Good men, unfortunately, sometimes tire of going on crusades, but Mammon never tires. The chief force of the birth-control campaign is derived from manufacturers and publishers in search of a profit and unless we realize that fact, they will get it.

Admiral Benson

ON May 20, William Shepherd Benson, Admiral (retired) in the United States Navy, died in Washington.

The late Admiral entered the Naval Academy in 1873, and for forty-seven years served his country with distinction. During the World War, he held the highest position in the Service as chief of naval operations, and at its conclusion he went to Paris to act as chief naval adviser to the American Peace Commission. Congress voted him the Distinguished Service Medal, Great Britain conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and from France came the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. From 1920 to 1928, he served, first as president, and then as a member, of the Shipping Board. His pronounced views and his inflexible rectitude drew on him much criticism, but in the single instance on which an appeal was taken from his rulings, he was sustained by the courts.

Active as he was in the exacting duties of his profession, from the moment of his reception into the Church as a young midshipman, Admiral Benson was a splendid example of the intelligent and zealous Catholic layman. He never paraded his religion, but always lived it, and on every fitting occasion, boldly defended it. He was the first president of the National Catholic Council of Men, and he guided its work with skill, prudence, and courage. For years, he was an active member of the Georgia Laymen's Association, which has done so much to dissipate the clouds of ignorance and prejudice throughout the entire South. He was a founder of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute for colored youth, and to the end his interest in this neglected portion of our people was unabated. At the time of his death, he was president of the board of trustees of the Catholic Charities of Washington. Honors that were a recognition of his militant Catholicism came from Rome. He was made a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great by Benedict XV, and Pius XI conferred on him membership in the Order of the Knights of Malta. He was the first American to be elected to this Order.

The position held by the late Admiral among Catholic laymen for the last decade was unique. This position was not attributable to his high rank, although that, of course, gave him an entry, a hearing, and an authority which would have been denied, or, at least, not readily conceded, a lesser dignity. But his rank would have

meant nothing without the man's Faith. When he became a Catholic, he caught a vision of his obligations as a member of the Church militant, and he fulfilled them with the loyalty which characterized his service to his country. There was nothing emotional about the Admiral or the man; duty was his watchword, as it was that of his great fellow-Southerner, Robert E. Lee. The Church's interests, he conceived, were really his interests, and he lost no opportunity to promote them.

We cannot hope for a generation of William Shepherd Bensons. A Benson is one of God's rare gifts to His people. But we can all recognize the generosity, the courage, the loyalty, with which he served Our Lord and Saviour, and strive to reproduce these qualities in our own way, in our lives. As a citizen, an officer, and a Catholic, the late Admiral was a brilliant refutation of the absurd yet persistent claim that no Catholic can rightly appraise the respective claims of God and Caesar. May his noble example live to hearten us, and may he speedily find peace and rest in the presence of the Master whom he loved and served with all the ardor of his brave and manly soul.

Children and the Crisis

PROBABLY the commotion caused by the address of Secretary Wilbur to the National Conference of Social Work at Philadelphia occasioned no one more surprise than the Secretary himself. The burden of Mr. Wilbur's offense was his statement that under present economic depression the young were improving, both physically and morally. "Our children are apt to profit rather than suffer from what is going on."

Quoted throughout the country, these words brought a storm of condemnation. The more lenient at Philadelphia contented themselves with remarking that, in all probability, the Secretary had not intended his words to be taken seriously, but was merely trying to cheer them up. But the Secretary disclaimed this interpretation, and an examination of what he said in his address should absolve him of all offending.

The gist of the Secretary's remarks was, simply, that in time of prosperity parents are apt to neglect their children, returning to them in adversity, and hence, "we must set up the neglect of prosperity against the care of adversity." When mothers and fathers have plenty of money, they are apt to spend too much time in amusement and social engagements, to the detriment of the home, "and there is no substitute for intelligent parental care throughout the day and night."

To that extent we agree with Secretary Wilbur, protesting, however, that the extreme destitution of these days, which has broken up many families, does not exactly promote that parental care on which he rightly sets supreme value. But if these hard times have the effect of bringing to fathers and mothers a keener realization of their duties, they will have effected much good. In a speech recently delivered in Buffalo, Police Commissioner Mulrooney, of New York, spoke with much apprehension of the growing number of youthful criminals, and of the

only means of checking this ominous growth. His remedy did not differ from that of Secretary Wilbur. The Church shows the way to Heaven, and the school trains the child to walk on it. But in the absence of a good home, that child will stay on it only by a miracle.

Catholics insist on the necessity of religious training in the school, but they know that the school alone cannot give a training that is adequate. Indeed, a poor home can destroy all that the school succeeds in giving. Secretary Wilbur was right. There is no substitute, normally, for intelligent parental care.

Mr. Smith Hits the Mark

IN his discussion of the President's letter to the American Society of Civil Engineers, the former Governor of New York aims straight at the mark, and, as usual, hits it. Alfred E. Smith is the one refreshing oasis in a vast desert of quibbling politicians, and of shufflers in office, or hoping to be. When you have listened to his argument, you may not agree, but you surely know what it is.

The position of the President on the construction of public works by the Government is fairly well known. He admits that only by some such scheme can the present economic depression be lifted. But he has expressed himself as unalterably opposed to the issuance of Federal bonds for this purpose. In its place, he would pledge the Government's credit for loans to productive and self-liquidating enterprises.

Mr. Smith states the President's position fairly, but points out its weaknesses. The President proposes to defray the costs of public works by "temporary financing" of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, "because it [the Government] expects to get its money back." Mr. Smith observes that this expectation will not be met, unless all the Corporation's many schemes "actually, in effect, liquidate themselves, and pay back one hundred cents on the dollar." Considering what the Corporation has done thus far, it is not hard to agree with Mr. Smith when he concludes that such repayment "would be pretty close to a miracle."

Under the bond scheme, on the other hand, the Government "must raise enough by taxation over a period of years to pay the entire cost of non-revenue-producing improvements." In either case, the Government's credit is involved, but under the bond plan the strain is not so great. The cost could easily be met, according to Mr. Smith, by a tax on beer, or by a manufacturers' sales tax, applied at the source. The effect on the market of a bond issue would be no more disturbing than the sale of Treasury tax notes or certificates, which the President's plan would necessitate.

The President's insistence on restricting the Government's work to revenue-producing enterprises does not commend itself to Mr. Smith. A street, he observes, is not revenue producing, but a bridge or tunnel, whether free or pay, is not worth much without "connecting and approach highways." Similarly dwelling houses are ordinarily revenue producing, but they "are worthless with-

out sewers, sidewalks, streets, and other utilities, most of which are not self-liquidating or revenue producing." If we are to revivify business by giving the workless a job, and some purchasing power, we cannot stop to consider the distinction between productive and non-productive works. The sole tests should be, Mr. Smith argues, first, is the work needed, next, is it now ready to "go ahead," and, finally, how much labor will it employ, directly or indirectly.

Governor Smith disclaims all partisan motives when he asks Congress to give the President "sufficient latitude," even should he determine on doing the work through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The one important thing is to insure a plan which will decrease the number of the unemployed. Let the President have the broadest powers, along with the responsibility. For if we don't tackle this problem now in a big way, we shall be driven to much more drastic measures a few months from now, when the millions of unemployed will not be so patient with quibbling over words.

It is to be hoped that Congress will understand the implication of Governor Smith's words, and heed the warning in time.

Congress and Stronger Beer

WELL may the steadiest head grow dizzy in contemplating the gyrations of Congress. These gyrations are most pronounced as often as a bill which refers, even remotely, to Prohibition is introduced. To the ultra-drys, the very mention of beer is intoxicating.

It is wholly within the power of Congress to legalize, and tax, beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol. It need hardly be added, however, that the present Congress is not likely to inflate the current legal percentage. Although the O'Connor-Hull and other bills would greatly decrease unemployment, and yield an annual tax of at least \$500,000,000, a virtuous Congress has promptly rejected them.

On the other hand, Congress has approved the plan of taxing malt and malt preparations for the manufacture of beer in the home. Beer, made in a brewery, is a concoction prepared by Satan. Beer, made at home, is a heavenly nectar. For beer made in a brewery would contain but 2.75 per cent of alcohol. Beer made at home, as the experts report, quite commonly contains from two to three times that percentage.

What Congress really desires, then, is that our people drink more alcohol. This is readily deducible from the fact that although the tax on brewery beer would bring in annually about \$500,000,000, the tax on malt preparation for home-made beer will yield only \$40,000,000. Thus Congress is ready to sacrifice \$460,000,000, if it can only persuade our people to drink more alcohol.

Since no one knows what Congress really contains, it is quite possible that among its members are a few who honestly believe that all alcohol is the work of Satan. To these gentlemen we would commend the fact that by taxing malt preparations and refusing to tax beer, they have spent \$460,000,000 to enthrone Satan in every kitchen in the country.

Immigration and Birth Control

D. C. LAWLESS

ON the same day on which the Governor of Ohio in effect admitted that it was bad statesmanship to pass a permanent law during the hue and cry of an emergency, such a measure, under such circumstances, was initiated in Congress. Governor White, a dry, astonished a W. C. T. U. conference by announcing that he favored resubmission of the Eighteenth Amendment to popular vote, if only to refute the charge that it was forced through during the World War while thousands of voters were on the front. The papers that carried this bit of news also stated that a committee of Congress had reported as an unemployment measure, that is, under the guise of an emergency, the resolution referred to it for reducing all immigration quotas to ten per cent of their present legal status and placing Canada, Mexico, and the countries of Central and South America on a similar basis. Thus in the same breath in which one theft is confessed, another is plotted. And if the act is consummated it will be more difficult to reverse than to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment.

What it chiefly concerns us to grasp—and this will explain the difficulty of repeal—is the animus of the deed. What is the deep underlying motive of the advocates of restricted immigration? Why are they organized, vigilant, and successful?

Now they do not proclaim this from the housetops or in the newspapers. It would blush and stammer there. It violates the spirit of the Constitution, which they profess to revere. To learn the secret one has to go to the hushed precincts of a library and select one of their propaganda books. There it is no secret; they are quite frank about it.

Four years ago, when we thought the immigration problem settled, Edward R. Lewis published a book, "America: Nation or Confusion," about this problem. He did not think it settled then. He was right, and his book, aimed to advance a more radical solution, at this moment becomes very informative reading. In it we see bared the mind of a very powerful element in our country today. That mind says, in Lewis' preface, "We cannot call the quota law established until it applies to Mexico, Central, and South America as well as Europe and Asia." How his words tune in with those of the committee of Congress just referred to! But note that he has omitted Canada, mention of which might have given his statement an air of impartiality. If you think that omission was a mere lapse, read the book. It is not history; it is propaganda, written for the present and the future. You should read it, or one of its ilk, to learn what some of your fellow-citizens think of you.

This book devotes seventeen pages (pp. 352 to 369) to the particular animus we have in mind. We are told that a few things stand out so ominously about American Catholics that they have greatly influenced our immigration policy. "Perhaps the majority of Americans believe, as a result of them, that while individual Cath-

olics are desirable citizens and delightful friends, the proportion of Catholics in our population should not be increased." That is pretty frank. But if you go on, you will find the writer still franker. You will also find that the "desirable citizens and delightful friends" stuff is hooey—in truth, Catholics are undesirable and undelightful. This is the prejudice that gives the animus to immigration restriction.

I am not quoting from Klan circulars or handbills or from gutter literature. This book was published by a leading, if not *the* leading, house in the United States; the names of the author and his assistants are all given either on the title page or in the Foreword; you will find the book in public libraries. It is still widely quoted in certain quarters. The author writes in behalf of what he calls the "native stock," the descendants of the population of 1790. He gives a keynote:

Let us not forget how deep-seated is the Puritan prejudice against "Popery" and all its ways in the old stock of this country. It has been handed down for 300 years in millions of families, it has been taught from simple country pulpits for ten generations.

We are listening to the voice of that old stock or "native stock," as it loves to call itself. It tells us what it thinks of us. It is determined that it shall not be outnumbered and has taken measures to retain direction of the Government, because it fears that through an increase of Catholics American institutions may be changed and injured, even wrecked. For "Catholicism has a foreign control and a foreign loyalty," and it has doctrines and practices wholly "inconsistent with American principles of government." The writer is, of course, ignorant of the fact that St. Robert Bellarmine maintained the principles of American government before Jefferson and the Fathers were born.

Catholics, he objects, "retain a clannish way of thinking, which time and again leads them to make a religious issue when there is none"; for instance, in education, divorce, sex hygiene, the care of the unfortunate, etc., which, of course, are religious issues. Then the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago, what a spectacle for Americans either to participate in or to witness, which, he says, "while beautiful, were not a part of the somewhat dour but self-reliant, independent, American spirit." Finally, the reaction of Catholics to foreign influences, their alien psychology, their subserviency to authority, their political solidarity, their belief in the supremacy of the Church, all combine with other alleged defects to create a "sinister menace" to the survival of free American institutions.

This, of course, is all old stuff; but the point is that it is daily being used as new stuff. It is the material of whispering campaigns, the cement of organization, the seed of legislation. It reposes on your library shelves in scores of books to catch recruits, inspire laggards, alarm the "native stock," and inflame bigots. It sends more votes to the polls, workers to secret meetings, wires to

congressman, and lobbyists to Washington than any other influence in the nation.

Frightened by the bogey of Catholic sovereignty, the advocates of immigration control have determined to check the "too rapid growth of what is to the mass of our population an alien and certainly a diverse religion." Now is the favorable time. In this crisis, when no one wants immigrants to come and no immigrant wants to come, they seize the opportunity to present a bill to reduce to the minimum the number that shall ever come hereafter. This law will, if it passes, remain on the statute books permanently. The native stock has the supremacy now. The time has come to fix it for good. This measure will remove forever the menace to it of numbers.

This epochal motion is made with a grim earnestness which we do not realize from its silent, cat-like precision. But no one can miss it in this book. The writer, voicing the sentiments of many, warns:

It is certainly open to question whether it is a healthy thing for any country to see its dominant religious feeling submerged in two or three generations and replaced by one with a foreign basis, and it is certain that the masses will not see it happen without protest, active and even violent.

This tone of defiant resistance forecasts the spirit of the next move, which is vicious. They are not absolutely certain that the pending bill will definitely and finally close the bars. Perhaps it is too late. The country is overcrowded with foreigners already. The native stock counts itself about one-half the total population. Compare its birth rate with those of Catholics and families of foreign origin. Los Angeles, for example, less than one-tenth Catholic, has a birth rate of 13.7 per thousand; Boston, with a population two-fifths Catholic, has a birth rate of 21.6 per thousand. At this pace, granted the native stock an even start in numbers with all others today, they will sink to a small minority: they admit it with terror.

What is the remedy on top of restriction of immigration? Birth control. Teach Catholics and the others restriction of families. That is the animus of the present birth-control propaganda, another thoroughly organized movement.

Is any one so simple as to believe that it has any other purpose? Surely they are not trying to teach the native stock birth control. They don't need it. They are already past masters in it. So much so that they actually need propaganda in reproduction of their own kind. They acknowledge it themselves. They are bewailing their extinction. Their story of the conquest of New England in the past few decades is one long lamentation over the displacement of the native stock, through their own voluntary sterility, by invasions of Catholics and foreigners who subsequently increased by the laws of nature.

It is time to grasp the truth that the present persistent birth-control propaganda is directed, over the head of their Church, to Catholics. In order to keep them down to at least even numbers with their rivals, they must be taught to check their growth, to keep their families within bounds, so that, as long as this country lasts, the organized, "like-minded" native stock can retain supremacy. How long it will remain a healthy nation under such a

program, the Lord only knows. But rather let it perish by race suicide than be overrun with foreigners, become saturated with foreign ideals, and poisoned by an "alien" religion! And that Catholics are being approached systematically by birth controllers cannot be denied.

Immigration control and birth control are twins. Whoever does not see that they are united by a mystic cord against Catholic expansion is unaware of the resourcefulness of the self-styled native stock.

The Upshot of the Malta Case

W. E. McCLUSKY

[Nearly two years ago the press was agog over the disagreements between Church and State in Malta. Lord Strickland, the Prime Minister, precipitated a crisis by refusing passports to a friar who had been ordered away, and by accusing his Superior of playing politics. The Labor Government removed the British Minister to the Holy See to another post and did not appoint a successor. The case was widely heralded by anti-Catholics as an instance of Catholic intolerance. The Royal Commission appointed to investigate has now reported and done full justice to the Catholic side.—Ed. AMERICA.]

ON April 7, 1931, at the Court of St. James, over the signature of Lord Passfield, a royal commission was issued to George Ranken, Baron Askwith, to Sir Walter Egerton, and to Sir John Francis Charles, Count de Salis, "to make full and diligent inquiry into the existing political situation in the Island of Malta and to put forward recommendations as to the steps which can and should be taken for its amelioration." On January 29, 1932, "Our trusty and well-beloved" commission filed its report of 169 printed pages and a documentary appendix of forty pages.

Between the first and the last dates, forty public hearings were held in Malta at which twenty-seven witnesses were examined under oath; seventeen hearings in camera at which seventeen witnesses appeared; 470 memoranda and fifty resolutions were submitted; official correspondence, Parliamentary and State papers, pamphlets, and publications dealing with the Maltese questions were perused. Dozens of informal interviews were had. Upon their return to London further sessions in camera were held. The mass of material was examined and the evidence analyzed. The testimony at the public hearings above covers 402 printed pages.

The strange thing about the report is that in my daily press a small one-inch cablegram carried the announcement. No comment appeared in the secular press. Scarcely two years have passed since the Pastoral letter of the Bishops of Malta and Gozo was front-page news. The usual mental reaction of the American public was evidenced at that time in the contributors' columns of the daily papers. Now that the biggest "news" event of the troublesome Maltese question has occurred, there is a silence which is significant.

The report does not substantiate the "Blue Book," but does to a certain degree substantiate the Vatican "White Book."

The Holy See had maintained that the Prime Minister, Lord Strickland, a Catholic, was the dominating force in

the Constitutional party and that if he were eliminated, a large part of the Maltese question would be settled. The report says, "It is useless to disguise the opinion that Lord Strickland was a dominating and aggressive force, with a manner calculated to cause irritation and annoyance and with methods of attack which involved personal animosity on the part of many of those who were attacked."

The famous case of Friar Micallef, who was ordered by his Superior to leave Malta, was apparently used as an excuse to invite the intervention of the Holy See and the British Government. The report completely exonerates his Superior, Father Carta, and inferentially condemns Lord Strickland and his supporters for their activities in this case. Father Carta, instead of being a prosecuting alien, is a persecuted visitor. "As regards Father Carta, we do not consider that the allegations of 'political activity' on his part were substantiated; and his actions cannot, in our view, be interpreted as constituting an interference by priests in politics" (Report p. 42).

The Vatican furnished the British Government with an *aide-mémoire*. The British Minister to the Vatican gave a copy to Lord Strickland who promptly published it in Malta. The Holy See, in its communications, objected to this. The Royal Commission says, "It does not appear to us that this document should have been published during the course of negotiations" (p. 46). "The reply of the British Government which was conveyed to the Cardinal Secretary of State by the British Minister on the eighth of August was certainly conceived in very emphatic and strong terms, which we cannot consider to have been calculated to lead to an amicable understanding."

The Nationalist party has maintained that the many should not be punished for the few; that the Maltese should be left to work out their own salvation under self-government. The Commission reports (p. 84):

We consider that the Constitution has not yet had a sufficient or even a fair trial. Whatever errors may have been committed by a few, there is no reason, in our opinion, why the many should be subjected to the loss of that self-government, which has been granted to them at so recent a date, and in effect should be disfranchised for acts they have not committed. . . . We see no reason to fear that our judgment may prove to be wrong in advising the restoration of the Constitution.

The Commission makes another important recommendation:

We have already expressed our views that the services of Ministers should be dispensed with and the Constitution be restored. For a long time Ministers have held a quite anomalous position. Anything that they did to conduct the election would be construed as unfair and as preventing the free expression of the views of the electors, and it would doubtless be considered that the Imperial Government retained them in power for its own purposes and not for the advantage of Malta. In their own interests, therefore, and in the interests of the people of Malta, we strongly advise that the services of Ministers should be dispensed with.

Cold consolation there for Lord Strickland.

With reference to the Pastoral letter, the Commission believes that it was issued by the Bishops as a matter of conscience with no political prompting. If an election is held in the near future the Commissioners

feel that the next Pastoral will be framed in the interests of peace and goodwill, particularly in a matter of such world-wide interest, far transcending the comparatively minor interests of Malta and involving the interests of a great Empire and of the Roman Catholic Church in all quarters of the world.

The recommendations are in, the course has been charted, the shoals marked, and the reefs indicated. It now remains to be seen whether Ramsay MacDonald will have the courage to do an about-face, and fulfil England's pledge to Malta. Time holds the answer.

The test of sincerity will be the appointment of a new Minister to the Vatican and the side-tracking of Lord Strickland.

The Meaning of the French Elections

JOSEPH F. THORNING, S.J.

Special Correspondent of AMERICA

THE victory of the Left parties in the French elections quite surpassed the anticipations of their most sanguine partisans. In fact, it was almost an embarrassing victory for M. Edouard Herriot, inasmuch as the swing to the Left produced gains for the Socialists and even for the Communists, which were not of good omen for the future. The Mayor of Lyons claims that his party, the Radical Socialist, is both national as well as social, and he would prefer to be free to negotiate with both Left and Center, thus forming a coalition Government on his own terms. It really irks him to be at the mercy of Léon Blum and the Socialists, whose collaboration proved so costly in 1925-26.

Nothing in the campaign just concluded pained M. Herriot so much as André Tardieu's reminder that "a Cartel Government means the franc at less than two sous." To form a Ministry, therefore, that will need Socialist votes but will be unsupported by Socialist responsibility

sorely taxes the good nature of the portly Mayor of Lyons. The lower middle class, which makes up the vast majority of his Radical Socialist party, is most unsympathetic to new taxation or large public expenditure and, as for the Socialist dream of the nationalization of industry, commerce, and transport, these so-called Radicals are the least Marxian in the country. It is one thing to trade votes with the Socialists in the heat of a political campaign; it is another thing to govern France, burdened by their dubious loyalty and their pictures of Paradise.

The gains of the Left were registered chiefly at the expense of the Center, supporting André Tardieu, and at that of the most powerful unit in the Right wing, the Marin Group. Then, too, the independent candidates were mowed down in numbers surprisingly large for a country as strongly individualistic as France. In that sense, the elections were a triumph of organization and vote swapping over personalities and policies.

From a Catholic point of view, or rather from the viewpoint of those interested in Catholic social principles, the most disappointing feature of the balloting was the decrease in the representation of the *Démocrate Populaire* party. Tabulation of the final results disclosed a loss for the party of three deputies, a decline from nineteen to sixteen in the newly elected Chamber.

Everywhere in France friends of social reconstruction, irrespective of party and creed, had called my attention to the important service this group had been rendering as the champion of the full social program of Leo XIII and Pius XI. Small in numbers, its influence on every group in France was great. The leaders of the party, although lacking the intellectual brilliance of Tardieu or the dogged tenacity of Marin, had won conspicuous success in explaining, popularizing, vindicating fundamental Christian views on the living wage, the family wage, factory legislation, arbitration in industry, and the obligations of the State to all classes in society. In short, the group had awakened the conscience of France to economic injustice and the rights of artisans, farm workers, and members of the lower middle class. This represented an immense gain in a country where the orthodox Right and Center parties had so many contacts with what had been illustrious and beneficent in aristocratic or bourgeois France.

The *Démocrates Populaires*, while openly professing to be Left in social and economic orientation, never failed to uphold the rights of the individual and of the family in matters of religion, family, and the State. Unlike the Center party in Germany, which is confessional and was called into being to check persecution, the *Démocrate Populaire* unit owed its inspiration, we may say, rather to a positive impulse, the desire to furnish a constructive, Christian, social solution to national problems. In an age which should be convinced that these principles alone hold the promise of rebuilding the social order, it is regrettable that this far-flung outpost of reconstruction should have received even a small loss of three seats.

That social unrest is deep in the soil of France may be judged from certain incidents on election day itself. At Bordeaux, for example, where the Socialists won several outstanding contests, the workers manifested their joy by a procession to the town hall. There the deputy Mayor, M. Marquet, was lifted on high, flanked by the newly elected Socialist members. The red flag was produced and, instead of the "Marseillaise," those taking part in the manifestation lustily chanted the "Internationale." Is it not a paradox that, in a crisis when the Social Democracy is in full retreat in England, Germany, and the rest of Central Europe, the French Socialists should have won such a signal victory? In all, the followers of Léon Blum gained seventeen seats. At the same time, the independent Socialists, in spite of the loss of their leader, Aristide Briand, were able to increase their representation by five deputies. You had only to pitch your camp on the Left, it seemed, in order to await victory.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Communist-Socialists more than doubled their representation (five to eleven), while the simon-pure followers of Marx, Lenin,

and Stalin, effected an advance from ten to twelve. As already indicated, the Left forces themselves consider this somewhat of a surfeit of triumph. It is too significant and may lead to complications. To win in France you must periodically become more radical or rather more Left than your opponent, much as in yacht racing you must always get to the windward of your rival. Imagine the difficulty this presents to a good old-fashioned Socialist of the Blum type, who adopted politics as a profession simply in order to graduate from the masses of the proletariat to the cosy fireplace and *bas-de-laine* of the bourgeoisie. Won't it be embarrassing to try to show yourself more Left-wing than Moscow, Stalin, and the Third International?

As for small property holders, rural functionaries, and shopkeepers of the type that yield unswerving allegiance to Herriot and his relatively harmless Radicals, the specter of a régime that would rob them of their tiny competency is too terrifying to be entertained for a moment. Here, fortunately enough, you find an influence which may render the new Government far more moderate and even-paced than its thumping majority, dazzling party labels, or sonorous party programs, would indicate.

Another stabilizing factor should result from the hair-line nature of the decision in many constituencies. Although the Socialists and Radicals chalked up big gains in point of deputies elected, they by no means achieved a walk-away victory at the polls. Almost every seat gained was wrested from a moderate (or a Communist) by a narrow margin. In many cases a shift of less than 100 votes would have tilted the scales the other way. These are not majorities to be trifled with and should, according to all rules of prudence, act as a brake on the reputedly dangerous radicalism of the Left.

This closeness of result indicates the seriousness with which the French voter takes his politics. It is not necessary to escort him to the polls in luxurious limousines. He is not amenable to house-to-house canvassing. Posters and meetings (in which he is rhetorically courted with Latin ardor) form his chief contact with the candidates. On election day, rain or shine, he emerges early, registers his ballot, and is happy until he hears the result. Then his interest is diverted from the character of the candidate to the *cartel*, bloc, or alignment toward which his favorite is coaxed or constrained to move. When the new Chamber meets, he discovers that, however Left or however radical the majority may be, taxes are recurrent, while new expenses, new salaries, new bureaus only make the process more painful. You can't have a full-blown bureaucracy (no matter how modest the stipends or how sparing the administration) without swallowing up tons of francs, centimes, and sous. French Government, be it stated, is not extravagant, but there is a great deal of it, and every prefecture with its retinue of State officials is simply a pipe-line for the taxpayer's money.

It was pain in this sensitive nerve center which for the most part produced the reaction from Tardieu and the Government of the day in favor of Herriot, Blum, the Communists, and hopes for a balanced budget in the future. The last few years, no one needs be told, have been

years of financial stress and strain. In spite of relatively heavy taxation, it has been well-nigh impossible to make revenues meet expenditure. Threatened bank failures were only forestalled by Government subventions. Several important industries tapped the same ready resource for help. The French Line, to take just one example, could continue to operate only by dint of immense State loans. Everyone knew it was folly to proceed with the construction of the new liner at St. Nazaire, but who could resist the appeal of the Mayor in frock coat, surrounded by a deputation of ship workers and trades people? Another loss was checked up in the sterling balances of the Bank of France.

In the meantime, smaller fry among business men and manufacturers, less fortunate in securing Government subsidies, were forced to close their doors. Others, hanging on to their little holdings like grim death, saw themselves taxed to keep the big fellows afloat. It takes considerable altruism, or perhaps objectivity, to see that individual salvation may sometimes be bound up with the stability of banks and big business. Tardieu's scheme to aid French agriculture had been delayed, whittled down, and frittered away by partisan parliamentary opposition. These were the issues which changed a working majority of sixty for the Right-Center into one of more than twice that figure for a *Left Cartel*. Not foreign policy, nor security, nor disarmament, but the simple, rudimentary problem of economy and taxation took the mantle from Tardieu and draped it about the robust shoulders of Herriot.

What may be expected of the latter? Pertinax, one of the keenest critics in French journalistic circles, summed it up by quoting Ramsay MacDonald at the close of a certain memorable meeting at Chequers: "He is a jelly-fish, Sir!" Throughout the campaign Herriot kept assuring the more cautious of his supporters that he would not ally himself with the Socialists. "Once is enough to have made that mistake," he declared. At the same time he was careful neither to accept nor to reject altogether the conciliatory gestures of M. Tardieu and flirted with the idea of a "Republican Concentration." All this would appear to indicate that the Government is falling from the firm grip of Poincaré and Tardieu into the putty-like fingers of two charlatans, Edouard Herriot and Léon Blum. Whatever the limitations and mistakes of the first two mentioned, they at least knew what they wanted, they formulated their policy with clear, bold strokes, and could defend it on occasion. It is questionable whether MM. Blum and Herriot can really find a common policy, and more questionable, whether having once found something resembling it, they can carry it through with the aplomb, the earnestness, the hardihood, which mark the difference between politicians at the hustings and statesmen guiding the destinies of a great nation in a crisis.

In a succeeding article, I will attempt to give an explanation of that most fascinating feature of French elections, the collusion of the Radical Socialists and Socialists in the interval between the first and second ballots. The system worked to perfection on May 8 and goes far to explain the victory of Herriot.

Traveling in Ireland

MARGARET FORD

IT'S easy traveling in Ireland. By that I do not mean that you get your tickets with less difficulty or even that the trains are more comfortable. Still it's easier traveling there. You discover this as soon as you set foot on the soil of Cobh (Queenstown). There is something in the air that is misty and soft and relaxing. As you present your bags to the customs inspectors, they look at them with a broad grin and perhaps with a wink they will tell you to pass along. In other lands the travelers have tense faces as time for customs inspection draws near. Here they stand around joking and laughing, knowing the inspectors will understand that no one would need to smuggle liquor there and that the richest perfumes are found growing right on the Irish countryside.

"Sure, what would we want to bring back," said one returning native with a twinkle in the eye, "haven't ye got everything here that anyone would want, anyway?"

Her bag went swiftly by.

Your first realization that catching a train is not the all-important thing it is in America comes when you see that you have missed the train for Cork. There it is—pulling out, just a few yards in front of you.

"Now there's luck for ye," says the guard with a wide grin on his face, "for it'll give ye a chance to see the Cathedral up on the hill there."

And that's the way it is all over Ireland. If you get your train there will be a fine ride through country of unbelievable greenness—and if you miss it—well, there is always a Cathedral or something else to see.

When you have waited a few hours wandering around the town and it is time for the next train, you find that you've been losing gradually that sense of impatience that overtakes you, under similar circumstances, at home.

The trains in Ireland may run on time but you always have the feeling that they start after the engineer has filled his pipe or whenever the conductor has finished telling a story to one of the gatemen.

We were changing trains at Mallow for Killarney one day, and were just barely settled in our compartment when the woman beside me, a motherly sort about forty-five, offered me some very sticky candy from a red-and-green-striped paper bag. I took a piece and the train started. I have never had a very good sense of direction but it seemed to me, at that moment, we were going away from Killarney. I looked out of the window anxiously. Perhaps we were in the wrong train. Perhaps we were on our way back to Cork. I asked my friend with the bag of candy if this were the train for Killarney.

"Well, now, I think it is," she answered in a most genial but not exactly reassuring way.

I glanced out of the window again. The scenery was alarmingly like what we had already passed on the way from Cork.

"Are you *sure* it's the train for Killarney," I insisted. "It seems to me we are going back the same route."

"Well, now that you mention it, I think we are. It's surely the wrong direction we're going in."

And she smiled as if nothing would be more pleasant than to be going back to the city.

"I think Theresa would like to be going back, wouldn't you, Theresa?"

She turned to a self-conscious child of thirteen who nodded her head and looked out the window hopefully.

Perhaps they wanted to get back to the city but I definitely did not want to, so I started hunting up the conductor. He assured me that I was on the right train and I sauntered back to the compartment a little bit puzzled as to how the mother and daughter would take the news that their city trip was being blocked.

"Well," I began brightly, "this is the right train after all."

My friend settled back with relief.

"Thanks be to God for that," she breathed, "because if himself had to get his own supper he'd be in a bad mood for a week."

But there you are! It was evident that they would have been satisfied no matter how it had turned out.

That is what is so hard to understand about the Irishman in Ireland. He is too poetic to be indifferent and too religious to be fatalistic, but his attitude is one of the most amazing equanimity in the face of minor tragedies: tragedies like being on the wrong train, or finding that the custard pie you put on the veranda has been stolen, or that your new straw hat has been caught in a deluge of rain.

This last example is not such a good one because no one would be foolish enough to wear a new hat in Ireland. It rained some every day while I was there and one man told me that it had been raining for three months.

"And doesn't it get on your nerves?"

He laughed.

"Sure it makes the girls' hair curl and the grass grow greener. Why should we mind it?"

Gradually the traveler takes the same attitude. Put on an old tweed coat and a battered felt hat and you too can start along the road without casting anxious glances at the sky.

On the way to Dublin my sister and I entered a compartment which was already occupied by a Franciscan friar. His rich brown habit nearly matched his beard and he had the most arresting pair of Irish blue eyes I've ever seen.

We wanted to talk to him but were not quite sure whether he would like it. So I hit upon a scheme. We went into the dining car for tea, scones, and jam, and on the way back I wrapped up a scone in a napkin and presented it to the Franciscan. From that moment the conversation, beginning with scones, traversed Irish literature, American educational methods, New York politics, and back to Free State laws. I was almost tempted to carry a little package of scones for just such an emergency as this. We told him we were traveling for fun and he confided that he was on "a bit of holiday" himself. On the way to visit his parents, in fact. Talking with him made the time fly by and it seemed impossible that we had reached Dublin so soon.

We left him with real regret and as he asked our names he said:

"Mine is Father Felix," and with a gleam in his eye he added, "the same as the cat."

So it goes in Ireland. You board a train with some destination in view, to be sure, but sooner or later you come to the conclusion that if you didn't reach it, wherever you *did* go would be just as nice. It would be hard to find a story better illustrative of the nonchalance of railroad officials themselves than the one they tell of the conductor who called out as the train stopped at a little station:

"Anybody there for here?"

Archeology by Airplane in Syria

PAUL DONCOEUR, S.J.

MR. MAYNARD OWEN WILLIAMS, who represented the National Geographical Society on the Citroen trans-Asiatic expedition, wrote thus enthusiastically about the famous French Jesuit explorer, Father Antoine Poidebard:

As we crawled north on April 8, two planes swooped to deliver to me some films. An ultra-modern Santa Claus in flying togs proved to be our friend, Father Poidebard. The world will know more about this remarkable man, because his aerial method for discovering, mapping, and measuring the ruins of second-century Roman walls is of intense interest. . . . Caravans have for ages plodded above these forgotten barriers. To such earth-bound folk as they were designed to stop, they don't exist today; but from the air Father Poidebard directs his workmen where to dig and their spades strike history! (*National Geographic*, Oct., 1931, p. 393).

A study of methods employed by Father Poidebard and of the results obtained will prove interesting, we hope, to American readers.

In 1929 and December, 1931, Father Poidebard sent to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* at Paris information which aroused the liveliest interest in the scientific circles of France, England, and Belgium. Over and above the interest in the results themselves, the marvelous efficiency of the method merits the attention of the scientific world because of the paths hitherto unnoticed which it opens up for the study of the past.

Father Poidebard lived in the East from 1904 up to the World War, and is thoroughly conversant with the languages, the natives, and the territory of the Near East, Persia, and the Caucasus. From 1914 to December, 1917, he acted as chaplain at the front. Because of his exceptional knowledge of the country, Marshal Foch entrusted him with the work of mapping out the land between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. After several scientific and diplomatic missions to Armenia, Persia, and the Caucasus, he wrote important archeological and geographi-

cal treatises which were crowned by the French Academy in 1924.

In May, 1925, the Geographical Society of Paris placed him in charge of an expedition to the desert of Syria. It was then that he began his aerial investigation of upper Jezireh. He made several excavations in order to find traces of the Roman roads and military posts. The work, however, in the steppes of the upper Jezireh (between the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers) presented a problem so difficult that in solving it he was led to his great discovery.

The wind had piled sand and earth over the ruins already on a level with the ancient ground. The desert seemed to be a huge impenetrable mystery wherein history had left no trace. An aerial view, and especially an aerial photograph, betrayed terrestrial irregularities which would never be suspected at all by an observer on the ground. A bird's-eye view of a large stretch of land brings to light many features. A subsequent close examination of the photograph reveals details which would have escaped the naked eye. Furthermore, we know that a photographic plate specially prepared is sensitive to certain rays of light which do not register on the retina. It was because of this that Capt. Albert W. Stevens took his marvelous photographs of the Rockies from distances of about 400 kilometers (250 miles). Finally, the actinic difference of the colors brings out certain details in the photograph which the eye misses entirely.

By means of these new methods for investigation, based on the principles of aerial observations as used by the World War aviators, Father Poidebard was able to unearth and reconstruct in 1928 the plan of the city (bridge, fortress, etc.) of Thannourin on the Khabur. In the Autumn of 1926, and during the expedition of 1927, Father Poidebard had already spotted many forts, ramparts, and entrenchments of the Byzantine frontier in the Tell Brak region. Excavations carried out according to the photographs extricated the walls buried under the sand.

This success led the learned explorer to other important discoveries which were to give him a method still more exact and precise. The study of the Syrian steppe revealed the secret to him. This anti-Lebanon desert on the Tigris River consisted of a spacious plain covered over with a bed of clay and alluvial deposit scarcely a foot and a half thick under which lay the Roman or Assyrian ruins for two or three thousand years. Under this thin layer of clay the ruins made only a very slight swelling, unnoticeable by either terrestrial or aerial observation. Only the slanting or oblique rays of dawn or of sunset brought out the swellings of the ground in contrasted and pronounced shadows, somewhat as the lights of an automobile at night bring out in dark and bright lines the least unevenness of a road which, in the vertical rays of the noon-day sun, appears perfectly level. A photograph taken in the morning or evening would register high lights and shadows invisible at other times.

Another fact entered into the discovery in a still more novel fashion. A thick-set grass is found in the thin layer of clay. During the wet seasons, especially in Autumn,

the grass becomes quite green. There are, however, two peculiarities to be noticed. First in the hollower sections, the abundance of water made the grass more thick and more green. Secondly, above the buried walls where the earth was more dry and whiter due to the chalky rock, the grass was rather sparse.

These three peculiarities, the contrasted shadows in the slanting rays of light, the greater abundance of grass in the hollow sections, and the sparseness above the buried ruins, gave the learned archeologist the clue which helped him decipher the remarkable photographs of his co-workers in the Levant. The exceptional photograph of the Thannourin district is extremely valuable. The least-informed observer can make out the outlines of the subterranean structure in spite of that layer of one to two and one-half feet.

In other photographs can be seen certain level spaces shaped like a gridiron on which the legions pitched their tents alongside the banks of the Jaghjagha. The tracks of a Roman boundary road made in the middle of the desert across the white sands of Khabras and the black basalt of Havas are discernible in the picture but entirely unseen on the ground.

These unexpected discoveries of Roman roads, frontiers, and fortifications confirmed the exploration method used by Father Poidebard. He was entrusted with the work of mapping the Roman boundary lines in the territory under French mandate north and south of the Euphrates River.

The explorer with the help of pilots, photographers, and cartographers of the Army in the East immediately undertook the work and pursued it tirelessly in more than ten expeditions in 1929, 1930, and 1931. The excellent photographic collection which was finally forwarded to the Academy in Paris on November 6 last won the praise of all scientific societies. The efficiency of the method is established beyond all doubt and the results are most striking.

The flights already made at 1,000 meters (about 3,230 feet) were continued energetically. The camera caught the slightest details. Between Damascus and Jebel Tenf, the water places along the caravan track were snapped at an altitude of fifty meters (about 162½ feet). At times the observer made observations, with the propeller almost stopped, at five meters (about seventeen feet), as was the case on the road from Palmyra to Hit.

Father Poidebard also worked, as in a laboratory, at twilight, making use of the dark wisps of clouds to obtain a horizontal beam of light which was of even greater revealing power in bringing out details. Finally, the deciphering of the pictures taken perpendicularly or obliquely was perfected to such a degree that the aerial reliefs furnish absolutely exact cartographic results.

According to the method described above, Father Poidebard was able to map out completely the Roman boundary from Bosra to the Tigris, about 1,000 kilometers long (about 625 miles) and 100 (62½ miles) to 200 kilometers (125 miles) wide. He reconstructed the military organization, the economic and agricultural system of the Roman occupation, lines of defense, halting places,

roads, tracks, watering places, pasturage, and farm lands. Completely buried wells and even the furrows of the fields which are now far below the present level of the earth have appeared as witnesses of the life and work of Roman soldiers and farmers who lived in this region 2,000 years ago.

Father Poidebard also stated that the Roman boundary is not only a landmark, as our own modern frontiers are marked only by boundary lines, but also an immense inclosure similar to the front-line trenches in the World War. The frontier is made up essentially of fortified roads, generally parallel, binding between them the defense works by means of connecting lines. Such a system forms the backbone of military defense and commercial enterprise.

Other roads, as if darting from the center of a circle and piercing the circumference, pass perpendicularly to the border of the frontier roads and enter into the land of the neighboring tribes.

This main artery, erected against the Parthians and Persian Sassanides in the southeast, and resting on the mountain range which linked the Mediterranean with the environs of Beirut, shut off the main sources of invasion from the Euphrates and the Tigris.

As far as the excavations have been able to disclose definite indications for dating the work, it seems to be established at present that the first labors on the frontier go back to Trajan's time. In the face of the Persian attacks Diocletian reinforced the fortifications and increased the patrol roads in the desert. The Byzantines did not have an army sufficiently equipped to seize such a huge fortification. The Arabs swiftly surprised the stronghold and captured it. That was the end of the Roman fortress till the present day.

At every forty-five kilometers (28 miles) Father Poidebard has photographed ruins of towers, garrisons, military posts, and a cavalry field. The discovery of numerous wells all along the tracks leading into the desert is of particular interest. It not only explains how the Romans, Parthian nomads, and Persians were able to sustain troops of cavalry in this section, but these wells, restored to use, make an immense area (reputed to be unapproachable) literally live again, to the benefit of the Bedouins and their troops of camels and their flocks of sheep.

At Han al Abyad on the road which Father Poidebard took towards Palmyra, this inscription attributes the honor of the marvelous achievements of Qas el Her to the leader of the Third Gallic Legion stationed at Danaba:

In this parched and arid plain, an object of terror for travelers on account of the long desert wastes where the danger of starvation continually lurks, you have made, O Master, a camp equipped with the greatest splendor. O Silvinus, protector of this city, along the frontier route, you have made here not only a powerful stronghold, but you have most cleverly utilized the rain water for the cultivation of wheat and the vine. Traveler, continue joyfully on your journey and in gratitude for that which you have received, sing the praises of this leader, magnanimous in war and in peace.

Is not the traveler in the Syrian desert in some way addressing our present-day explorer?

Back of Business

THE creation in New York recently of a committee of bankers and industrialists for the purpose of helping the credit-expansion policy of the Federal Reserve Board has provoked a good deal of favorable comment and expectation. Undoubtedly the committee deserves the attention as any other attempt to "lubricate" credit circulation would deserve it. After all, little business is done on the "cash-and-carry" principle, and by far the most of it through credits; from the butcher and the iceman who collect their bills Saturdays or Mondays, to the International Harvester or General Electric who hardly pay out any cash money at all. So it is easy to see that credit shortage or credit shrinkage cuts immediately into the volume and velocity of business. Credits must be expanded before business will pick up, no doubt about it!

And so, a group of bankers and industrialists meet in New York, trying to solve the credit puzzle. Can they do it? They can, of course, decide that some of them (the bankers) are willing to grant credits to the other committee members (the industrialists). But it would neither help the nation nor the credit system as a whole. It would just help the committee. Can it, beyond this, expand credits? Why did credits shrink as they did?

Credit shrinkage occurred when funds piled up in the banks instead of fertilizing the factories, the farms, and the trade. Funds piled up because there are few honest business men who believe that today they can borrow money and make enough to pay either interest or amortization. They could do so only through larger sales and better prices; both are conspicuous by their absence. The banks, again, are enthusiastic about a loan proposition if there is (a) profit in prospect, and (b) security; both are conspicuous by their absence. This is the Alpha and Omega of the prevailing credit situation.

And the recently created committee of bankers and industrialists can do nothing about it, for it is not in the power of the committee to drag the majority of American enterprises out of the red, to give us better prices, to increase the people's buying power, and to do a thousand other things which must be done before profits and security can be restored to a satisfactory level.

Pondering over the credit problem, one must admit that even if we succeed in releasing large amounts of credits to commerce and industry, this would not contribute to the economic soundness of the United States. What would be gained? The wheels would start turning, the farmer would begin plowing, the chimneys smoking, the machines humming, the locomotives hauling longer trains, warehouses being crowded, ships being taken from the harbors, closed mines and plants being operated again, with the net result of a tremendous production ratio. We know from bitter experience what overproduction means, and lack of buying power.

This picture is only in the distant background, but it is overshadowing the committee's efforts. It is deeply to be regretted that our leaders should ever fail to see that he who needs the credits is not the producer but the buyer, Mr. Public.

GERHARD HIRSCHFELD.

Sociology

The Federal Octopus

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

AS a topic for heated and random conversation, the high cost of government bids fair to oust Prohibition from its position of pre-eminence. It is true that in return for taxes we get plenty of government; or, to speak more exactly, we are subjected to a deluge of bureaucratic activities. A few years ago we could remark that while the thing was pretty expensive, the country was rich enough to pay for it; and so change the subject. Within the last eighteen months, however, the realization is gradually dawning that unless Congress imposes more and heavier taxes, after the manner of another Napoleon in a new province, we shall not be able to foot the bill.

In a recent letter to the Governor of Montana, Senator Walsh, of that State, suggests that economy is the way out of this crisis. At the same time, he shows that all Federal appropriations cannot be immediately reduced without adding thousands to the ranks of the unemployed, and allowing building and other projects now half-completed to fall into ruin. Senator Walsh's plan consists in a tapering off of appropriations which should never have been made, and a refusal to embark on any further projects of this sort. If that policy is adopted and consistently supported, there will be no question of a Federal Department of Education, and the appropriations for vocational training, along with the appropriations for silly projects of the Children's Bureau, can in time be abolished. When this is done, the Federal Government will be more like a government and less like a second-rate social-service bureau.

Sterling E. Edmunds, a member of the St. Louis bar, has recently published a study entitled "The Federal Octopus," to illustrate the tremendous changes wrought in the American scheme of government within the last few decades. Both his topic and his supporting examples are familiar to readers of this Review which, from its inception, has pleaded for the retention in their undiminished vigor of the principles and ideals of government set forth in the Constitution. For years its voice was the voice of a solitary pleader. The popular cry was for the recognition of what were falsely styled the inherent powers of government, and under the pretense of providing for the general welfare, agencies, committees, bureaus, and departments, all centered in Washington, began to spring out of the ground. At least, they did not spring out of the Constitution.

Once founded, these agencies inflated the powers they had and usurped powers if they had them not. A recent example in point is the Federal Power Commission. Created to deal with "the location, design, construction, maintenance, and operation of power projects on navigable streams," its first ruling was to affirm its control over streams that were *not* navigable, provided that they ran into a navigable stream. That was in the New River case. It is quite probable that its next ruling will be assertion of control over *any* stream, provided that it con-

nects with a stream which, after communicating successively with an indefinite number of streams, the said number to be designated as *x*, finally empties into a stream that is navigable. To quote Tom Marshall, this Federal Power Commission is a bureau that turned into a parlor and bed-room set over night.

And these sets cost money. In the letter already quoted, Senator Walsh shows that in the eight-year period, 1924-1932, appropriations increased from \$3,507,000,000 to \$4,362,000,000. In the eight years of Mr. Hoover's incumbency, the appropriations for the Department of Commerce rose from eighteen to nearly forty million dollars, an increase of about 127 per cent. Buildings, costly and sumptuous but, in not a few cases, inconvenient for the workers and poorly constructed, were put up, and every new agency vied with its elders in pomp and parade. The evil grew with what it fed on. Neglecting the duties imposed upon it by the Constitution, the Federal Government has operated largely through bureaucratic establishments, dedicated to functions that lie wholly outside its province.

The Federal Government has conceived itself obligated to care for the teeth of the schoolboy. It cuts out patterns for Mary Jane's pinafores. It legislates for the milk bottle of the mewling infant in the cradle. After consultation with architects and doctors of medical science, it publishes plans for the sanitary construction of pigsties, and arranges a diet for the animal himself. It will also furnish you with a table of logarithms which enables you to forecast his price on the market next Winter. It counts the jackasses in the city of New York, the farms within the limits of the city of Chicago, and no fewer than three bureaus take up a census of the cows in Vermont. Needless to say, writes Merle Thorpe, their figures do not agree. And the Department of Commerce, in a survey, illustrated by forty-eight charts, tells the corner-druggist where to place his soda fountain!

Our four-billion-dollar Government also teaches us how to build fly traps. It solemnly informs us, in a bulletin of research, that "curtains not only keep out the light but insure privacy." It warns public-school superintendents that they must avoid bad grammar and spelling when they write official letters to school marms, and to give the warning force, supplies them with a model book of forms. The Department of Commerce holds that "a folding chaise longue is the last word in relaxation." The Department of Agriculture tells a shocked and incredulous world that "a cow is a bovine animal." The Department of Labor supplies us with invaluable information when it submits that "the abdomen is the belly."

Yet some people claim Appomattox as a victory!

Back of every fresh outburst of this delirious bureaucracy is a new payroll, and another regiment for the army of Federal office holders. Schemes that would have made Hamilton, that stout Republican, stand aghast, have been gaily approved by Congress after Congress, whose members had as little knowledge of the functions proper to government, or of the plain inhibitions of the Constitution, as they had pity for the burdens of the people, forced to pay through the nose for this bureaucratic folly.

It is an old story; yet if told again a repetition of these excesses may be hindered and perhaps prevented. Of the 3,000 counties in this country, more than 2,500 have been organized by the Department of Agriculture which works through a staff of nearly 6,000 agents and investigators. The Secretary directs radio programs and moving pictures. He hunts coyotes and exterminates bobcats. He gives advice to mothers on the cut and jib of little Tommy's rompers; he instructs them as to the best methods of curing thumb-sucking; and in the meantime more than half the farmers in this country are bankrupt. For 1932, Congress gave him some \$300,000 to be used—how I do not know—on barberries, and a sizable sum of millions for the eradication of fruit flies, ticks, and blister rust. Incidentally, the coyotes and bobcats cost, in 1931, \$609,000.

This is a brief and incomplete story of one part only of a hundred commissions, bureaus, and departments. An investigator could go over the list and, given time to type his voluminous findings, produce a story which would justify the conclusion that this Government is conducted for the welfare of 120,000,000 citizens whose mental capacity, and ability to care for themselves, are little above the level of a moron. But they must have plenty of money. None but the richest country in the world could stand up under the bureaucracy we have had for fifteen years; and how much longer we can put up with it is no longer doubtful. The bread lines in every city in the country show that.

Meanwhile, the really important work which the Government should do for the citizen is neglected. The record of supplementary Federal legislation, designed to aid the worker so that he and his family can live as human beings, is a blank record. The United States is the wealthiest industrial and commercial nation in the world, and no nation is so woefully lacking in practicable and constructive State and Federal legislation for the protection of the wage earner. It took years of hard work before Senator Norris could force through the Senate an act that breaks down tyrannical handling of the worker by the courts in contempt proceedings arising from industrial disputes. When the workingman asks to be shielded against the excesses of the capitalistic system, the Government gives him a pamphlet—for which he pays at de-luxe rates—on how to select wall paper.

But the worst part of this bureaucracy is not its cost, appalling as that is. Its most menacing feature, as Mr. Edmunds points out, is its steady evolution into a super-government, against which the regularly constituted courts can afford but a half-hearted and procrastinating protection.

James M. Beck, whose authority in constitutional law is recognized, said on the floor of Congress some weeks ago that more than half the operations of the Department of Agriculture are probably without warrant of law. Yet, operating as many do on a doubtful basis, these Departments and bureaus make law, interpret it, and enforce it, combining in themselves the legislative, the judicial, and the executive functions of government. They have their examiners, their investigators, their pursuivants, their

judicial processes, and whoever questions their arrogance may live, but only to rue the day. Theoretically, an appeal lies in the courts. But by the time the courts have ruled, even if the decision be in his favor, the appellant's business may be in ruins.

Some twelve years ago, Elihu Root wrote that unauthorized expansions of the powers of the Federal Government were gradually destroying the Constitution. "Worst of all," he added, "no one seems to care." When the day comes in which we are ruled by satraps sent out from Washington, as governors over conquered provinces, we may care. But then the only recourse will be revolution. Let us forestall that necessity.

Education

\$\$\$ and the School

CRICKETT WAINSCOTT

LIKE those people who think they are growing virtuous when, in point of fact, they are merely growing old, I harbor few enthusiasms. Long ago I passed the age of hero worship. My chief object of solicitude, probably, is myself. I have little time for the contemplation of other people's troubles, and even less for crusades.

Nevertheless several articles recently appearing in these pages have stirred me strangely. The author of these papers has an eye for what is wrong, and that eye is querulous and unhappy when it is turned on the financial arrangements of the elementary and secondary-school education, or what passes for it, in the United States. He thinks it costs too much. It would cost too much, he continues, even were it good, which, in his judgment, it is not. Further, granting that the expenditures may be justified, he protests that they are not properly distributed. The contractors get too large a share; so do the administrators and the clerks; and the result is that the teachers, on whom falls the burden of the work, must put up with what is left.

Suppose we grant the substantial truth of these accusations. What follows? Nothing; and for two reasons. First, no one individual, and no society, can present them in a fashion that would bring results. Only a group of powerful politicians could do that, and then the cure would be but temporary. Clad for once in their lives in the shining armor of victorious crusaders, the politicians would make up for lost time, as soon as the clamor died down, and one evil would be exchanged for another. Next, the American people have all but lost the power of self-government. They have tamely conceded that corruption is as necessary to government as fleas to a poodle. The two worst Administrations this country ever had, Grant's in the 'seventies, and Harding's in our own time, were followed by overwhelming victories for the guilty political party at the ensuing election. It took all of Hoar's merciless denunciations in the Senate and—what surely was much more to the point—threat of exposure of the mighty still in high place, to prevent the fatuous leaders of a fatuous people from giving Grant a third term.

The evil, then, is not new, as John Wiltbye, my peccant author, seems to insinuate. It is at least as old as Thad Stevens and the factions that impeached Andrew Johnson. If it will please Mr. Wiltbye, I will even concede that the respectable, silk-hat and frock-coat style of corruption began when carpet baggers and scalawags were first received in polite society, and hailed as saviours of the Republic. There were bullies before Hector, and men who subsidized themselves on monies appropriated for educational and other public purposes, before the thieving 'seventies. But they merely picked up the wheat which the gleaners left, like so many guilty Ruths. Beginning with the 'seventies, they had taken over the field, and Boaz was wondering how he had lost it.

In reply to this cynical view, it will be said that Mr. Wiltbye's charges, in which I concur, can be verified only when the larger cities are put in the spotlight. To that rebuttal, I must demur.

The newspaper which tops the higher strata on my desk happens to be the *Chicago Tribune*, and the date is May 23. Probably it contains a story or two telling how the teachers have been suffering from the inability of that opulent city to pay them their modest stipends. I do not know, for I have read only the editorial page. There I find an editorial, reprinted from the *Danville Commercial News*, on this matter of the cost of schools. As Danville is situated in a community which is typical of the better-class rural districts of the country, the story falls in admirably with my contention that stupidity or corruption is not confined to the great cities. "Nowhere," writes the Danville editor, "is there a more salient example of school expense than in the existing school system of Vermilion county." And on reading the indictment, I am inclined to agree. In spite of the Bureau of Education at Washington, and its reams of advice, Vermilion county and its political leaders have much to learn. Or have they?

In that county, there are 193 schools. At 123 of these schools, the attendance is twenty-five or less. Three schools had an enrolment of four pupils, twenty-two had ten or fewer, forty-two had fifteen or fewer, thirty-nine had twenty or fewer, and seventeen had between twenty and twenty-five. In all the county, only fifteen schools had an enrolment of more than 100 pupils. Now ordinary methods of consolidation would give the county fewer, cheaper, and, most important of all, better schools. But it is probably safe to wager that the politicians are not thinking of consolidation, except to choose ways and means of averting it. Many schools mean many appointments, and unless he can reward the faithful how can a politician live? Without appointments at his disposal, directly or indirectly, how can he build up a following, or, more correctly, a machine?

Besides these important considerations, the politician knows that the larger the number of unnecessary schools, the larger the amount which the people must pay to support them. He also knows that in many districts, if not in all, the most popular of all appropriations, whether it comes from a bond issue or a direct tax, is an appropriation for the schools. It is dangerous to oppose it. It is

useless to ask how it is expended. That is why in Vermilion county, nearly forty-two per cent of the taxes collected must be handed over for the support of the schools.

This proportion is somewhat higher than in the cities, where on an average, about one-third of the budget is for schools. However, this slight disproportion is not evidence of a finer grade of intelligence and probity in the administrators of the urban systems. It may merely mean that the city slickers are past masters in the art of sucking eggs and hiding the shells.

It strikes me that Mr. Wiltbye is wasting his time. Even in these days of unemployment, tilting at windmills is a singularly unremunerative way of making a living. The public schools are part of our political system, and as long as political governments in this country are what they are, the schools too will remain what they are. We are going to build more and larger normal schools, even though, as Governor Roosevelt observed in his speech last week at Oglethorpe University, we have nothing for their graduates to do; and we are going to continue to spend money on the schools, without inquiring what the schools are doing or, indeed, greatly caring.

If the school system is not the most flagrant example of graft in all political history, it is not because the opportunity has at any time been lacking. Perhaps the virtue of the men who administer the system is of a fixity and substance unknown elsewhere in this poor old world; but only perhaps. Who knows? All we know is that the system has never been investigated, and that it will never be investigated. And that we know because malfeasance, misfeasance, and non-feasance, are so common in this country that we would not be satisfied without them.

With Scrip and Staff

THAT Dr. Pittfield and his wife are violently anti-Catholic is a matter of common knowledge. It seemed odd that people of such culture, imagination, and charm could develop into rampant fanatics. I knew them in younger years as gentle and friendly. Mrs. Pittfield even went to the extent of complaining that the presence of a Catholic church in the landscape gave her physical distress, like an ulcer. Happening this past week, upon my Cousin Len, who is an old friend of the Pittfields, I put him a long-deferred question as to the reason for that strange development. "I believe," was his reply, "that the whole thing started from their unsuccessful attempt to start a welfare center in South Waterville."

"Why was it unsuccessful?" I asked.

"The opposition of the local Catholic clergy killed it," replied Cousin Len.

"What did the Catholic pastor object to?"

"Their reading the Bible to Catholic children. You see they were interested in South Waterville. The Doctor and his wife thought it would be a splendid thing to get the young people together in a house which they hired for the purpose. They taught them games, some music, drama, drawing, and other harmless occupations. They conducted absolutely no proselyting; in fact they wanted the children, most of whom were Catholics, to remain

good Catholics and to go to the Catholic Church. But they did not think it right to begin their evening with no mention of Almighty God. So they recited a simple prayer; said the Lord's Prayer in common; and read a verse or two from the Bible. Well, the local Pastor objected to this procedure, and forbade the children of his parish to attend the Pittfields' Center. The Sisters told the children in the parish school to keep away from the Pittfields. Finally, Dr. and Mrs. Pittfield called upon the Pastor and stated their case. Just what happened I do not know. But the interview was most unsatisfactory. They came away enraged. The Center was closed; and from that day on the Pittfields swore eternal enmity to the Catholic Church."

"Do you think they were unjustly treated?" I asked Cousin Len, who is a pretty well-instructed Catholic.

"I should think so. I can understand the Pastor's position if the Pittfields were interested in interfering with the children's religion. But you know what they are: just kind-hearted enthusiasts; in no wise 'church people'; lovers of children and gifted in providing recreation and novelties. And they tried to explain all this to the priests and Sisters. But to no avail."

KNOWING the Pittfields as I do, I can agree with Cousin Len that, in a sense, the well-meaning couple were treated unfairly; also that their mild vanity was badly ruffled. The Pastor might have inquired enough to satisfy himself that they were really not evangelists or proselyters; but just good-hearted folk who stumbled upon a group of Catholic children because of their interest in the neighborhood. The Catholic teaching on such matters might have been explained so as to induce them to remove any objectionable practice, while keeping their cooperation in a genuinely good work. They might have been converted from prospective enemies into useful allies. But, said I to Cousin Len, this does not alter the fact that the Pastor had a reasonable presumption against them. For, though the Pittfields might have been exceptions to the rule, in the majority of cases experience shows that pious Protestant devotions, when combined with welfare work for destitute Catholic children, are easily made the entering wedge for religious propaganda; moreover, that when welfare works are carried on under the auspices of religious organizations that are harmless enough at home in the United States, these works can, and frequently do, take on a violently proselyting character in foreign lands. This is demonstrated by the history of American Protestant missions in the Philippine Islands. Were the Pittfields allied with such an organization, the zephyr in South Waterville would swell to a hurricane on the China Sea.

ONE of the saddest elements in that business is the extent to which well-meaning Protestants, other "Pittfields" (the name is a pseudonym) in this country, are fooled by reports of progress made by Protestant missions in Catholic lands. The N.C.W.C. News Service, under date of May 9, carries a letter from Brussels, describing a "bulletin letter" issued by the "Belgian

Gospel Mission, Inc." (*Mission Belge Evangélique*), a Protestant evangelizing body with headquarters in Philadelphia. According to the bulletin, all Belgium is in a furore over the advance of Protestantism in that country, but the headway in years of effort is fairly negligible.

In the Belgian *Cité Chrétienne* for March 20, 1932, Father Paul de Boeck, S.J., of Louvain, decries too much alarm over Protestant missions in Belgium. Organized, intensive anti-Protestant campaign by Belgian Catholics will only, he thinks, have the effect of uniting the now hopelessly divided forces of Belgian Protestantism into one front. The real harm is the unsettling of minds.

Since the World War, two American sectarian organizations have occupied most of the stage in Belgium: the aforesaid Belgian Gospel Mission, and the Methodist Gospel Mission. The former was begun, as I pointed out in further discussion with Cousin Len, by two pious Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Norton. Mr. Norton had become interested in the soldiers during the World War. Their organization spread rapidly; in 1930 it had twenty-five stations, and twenty-eight in 1931.

Similar growth was reported of the other principal Protestant missionary body, the Methodist Gospel Mission, which is sponsored by the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The latter is particularly devoted to social and philanthropic works.

THE greatest single success in the sectarian line in present-day Europe, has been the so-called National Church of Czechoslovakia. The official government census of Czechoslovakia revealed that after a single year of existence its adherents numbered 525,000; which was simply a mass movement of apostasy from Catholicism. In 1930 it was said to have reached 1,000,000. But, says Charles R. Joy in the *Christian Register* for May 19, 1932, "conditions are now stabilized and the increase will not be so great in the future."

Only 200 priests came over, originally, from the Roman Catholic Church, and even now the greatest difficulty for the church is to provide ministers. When the new church was organized the Roman Catholics refused to permit the use of their buildings. Accordingly, the church was compelled to erect seventy new buildings. The Premier promised the church, which is officially recognized, by the State, one-fourth of the cost of construction. Unfortunately the Clerical [Popular?] party has since increased in power, and the Premier, weakened by illness, has not been able to fulfil his promise.

The Church has no regular theological faculty. The Government has refused to establish one, for the strong Clerical party has opposed it. This party is intent upon crushing the new movement, and there is constant struggle. The Protestant sects will probably have little future growth, and the National Church is the only one that is feared by the Catholics. *It is exactly the same situation as in the Philippines* (Italics mine).

From Mr. Joy's description the Czechoslovakian Church appears to be torn internally by doctrinal dissensions.

When will intelligent American Protestants learn that their interference with the religious beliefs of Catholic peoples is not constructive, even in their own sense of the word, but purely destructive? They may then turn their attention to the unchurched millions of the United States.

THE PILGRIM.

Literature

The House of Sadlier

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

IN the good old foundation days of the last century the Catholic press and the Catholic publication business were more nearly linked together than they are at present. The annual convention of the Catholic Press Association, held at Buffalo, May 26-28, and the recent deaths of two notable women, Mrs. A. M. Sadlier (March 25) and Miss Anna T. Sadlier (April 16), may revive some memories that will carry lessons not unfruitful for the present generation.

In 1837 Dennis and James Sadlier, two bookbinders who had a shop in Carmine Street, New York, began to circulate in monthly parts an edition of Butler's "Lives of the Saints." The venture was a success and emboldened them to engage further in the business of publishing Catholic books and selling articles of devotion. They got hold of the plates of the New Testament that Lewis Willcocks and Nicholas Devereaux brought over from Dublin, and printed and published at Utica, New York, with the approbation of Bishop Dubois, in 1828, and reprinted this Testament with an edition in monthly parts of the whole Bible. Then, when John Doyle, who began in 1823 a publishing concern that for many years was a Catholic landmark on Broadway where the Woolworth Building now stands, decided, in 1853, to quit and go to California, they secured a number of his popular books and continued their publication. At this time they were located at 164 William Street, whence, in the early 'sixties, they moved to Barclay Street and became the pioneers in the trade development of that locality.

When prosperity began to reward their enterprise, James Sadlier went to Montreal and there opened a branch establishment at 179 Notre Dame Street which also was most successful. Here he met Miss Mary A. Madden, a young Irishwoman whose early literary aspiration had already won recognition. They were married in November, 1846, and for the fourteen years that followed they were leaders in the activities of the Montreal English-speaking Catholic circle. In March, 1850, James Sadlier was instrumental in having Orestes A. Brownson visit Montreal to give a series of lectures, one outcome of which was the formation of a friendship with Mrs. Sadlier that later proved most fortunate, and another the starting of a paper in the English language, the *True Witness*, under the editorial direction of George E. Clerk. It did valiant service for many years until, in the not very distant past, its publication was suspended as one of the incidents of the local bilingual nationalism friction of historic memory.

In May, 1860, James Sadlier and his family returned to New York to assist his brother Dennis in the management of the business which had grown to be the leading Catholic publication concern of the country. In 1857 they had taken over from D'Arcy McGee the moribund *American Celt*, and, renaming it the *Tablet*, started it on

a new lease of life, on June 5 of that year. The first editors were Dr. J. V. Huntington, the convert poet and novelist; William Denman, son of the publisher of the *Truth Teller*, New York's first Catholic weekly; B. Doran Killian; Dr. Henry James Anderson, another convert, a scientist and Columbia College's famous mathematician for so many years, and in his last days, the generous Catholic philanthropist. After her coming to New York, Mrs. M. A. Sadlier found in it the medium she needed for the extraordinary output of stories and translations, written with a special purpose, which had such a powerful influence on the public of that era.

With the close of 1864, *Brownson's Review* ceased publication and it seemed as if the vigorous pen of the essayist and philosopher was to be lost in its zeal for the propagation of the True Faith. Father Sorin in the *Ave Maria*, and Father Hecker in the *Catholic World*, at once offered him new avenues of effort and Mrs. Sadlier persuaded him to use the editorial pages of the *Tablet*. The latter gave him the opportunity of dealing with current events and he wrote from four to six columns of its weekly contents. A series on the education question, for instance, attracted a country-wide attention and approval. To meet the need for Catholic school books, Mrs. Sadlier compiled a series of Catholic readers and the firm cooperated with the Christian Brothers in getting out the "Metropolitan" class books that were put in general use in the parish schools. Brownson's connection continued until he removed to Detroit in 1875. James Sadlier died in 1869 and after a short period Mrs. Sadlier went back to Canada and died there April 5, 1903.

In the course of the development of the Barclay Street concern, William H. Sadlier, a nephew of the principals, came to New York from Montreal and was employed in the book store. He did not continue there very long but went to take charge of the Catholic trade of A. S. Barnes and Company, a leading school-book concern of New York. Personally very popular and energetic, he succeeded in building up so large a clientele that he concluded it would be of advantage to go into the publication of Catholic school books himself and did so. The late Mother Mary Rose Dolan, of the Mount St. Vincent Sisters of Charity, then the very successful head of the old-fashioned Convent Academy (there were no women's colleges in those days) compiled for him a series of attractive United States histories and geographies and these Sadlier manuals met with immediate success and popularity. Just when everything seemed secure, William Sadlier died suddenly, on September 7, 1877. His widow, who had been intimately associated with the details of his progress, and, although in that day a business career for women was an anomaly, took up his publishing plant and to protect and conserve the style of the firm had its name formally incorporated. With her son, F. X. Sadlier, the present head of the concern, she thereafter for half a century carried on its very profitable and most useful manufacture of high-grade books for both Catholic and public schools.

In addition to its long list of Catholic books, literary, educational, and devotional in character and purpose, the

firm of D. and J. Sadlier and Company published the annual "Catholic Directory of the United States," from 1864 to 1895, when its Western rival made its publication no longer profitable. John Gilmary Shea edited most of these volumes. As had often happened in successful concerns, even before the death, in 1885, of the survivor of the original partnership, dry rot and unfortunate outside investments, with ever-increasing trade rivalry, had sapped the standing of the old house, and it was wound up and passed out of existence in April, 1912. Several of its employes, besides William H. Sadlier, made successes after leaving its service. Notable of these was Lawrence Kehoe who, when Father Hecker, in 1866, as part of his great ambition to evangelize his non-Catholic fellow-countrymen, started the Catholic Publication Society, was made its manager and active business head. He so continued until his death, making an enviable record for a splendid output of important and high-class books printed and bound in a lavishness of style not attempted before. He had no delusions about the precarious returns from the business. When the *Catholic World*, of which he was to be the publisher, was projected in 1865 he wrote to Brownson:

What do you think about my taking a situation in the Custom House? Could I get one that I could attend to and attend to this magazine also? This affair will not take up all my time, and will not be able at present, if it ever is, to pay me enough to live upon. My expenses are great and I have but little faith in Catholic publications. I have spent eight years, the best years of my life, at such business, and what have I got? I am poorer than when I went into it.

In spite of his forebodings, however, he made the business a success during his life-time connection with it, and the *Catholic World* has international prestige and influence as one of the leading periodicals of the English-speaking people.

The *Tablet* lumbered along as a part of the Sadlier assets, after Brownson and Mrs. M. A. Sadlier left it, for some years, steadily losing prestige and circulation until the political evolution known as the "Blaine Bolt" got under way. Some Republican politicians, thinking that they would benefit by having a Catholic weekly advocate, purchased the almost defunct paper for that purpose. As such it lasted until 1893.

Miss Anna T. Sadlier was the daughter of James and Anne M. Sadlier and inherited no little of the literary ability of her distinguished mother. Her stories and sketches, well-written and inspiring depictions of Catholic life, many dealing with Canadian scenes, have appeared in our various Catholic periodicals during recent years. The readers of AMERICA will remember a number of contributions from her pen. Her valued judgment and keen abilities were enlisted in her last years in social welfare work and lecturing on current topics of interest.

The Catholic reading public of the United States and Canada is under no small debt of gratitude to the pioneer house of Sadlier for services to Catholic literature in the critical formative period when the workers were few and the demand for useful and informative material was incessant and vital, especially for class books for our Catholic schools.

REVIEWS

Common Sense About Religion. By McVEIGH HARRISON. Published at Holy Cross, West Park, N. Y.

What Is There Left to Believe? By HERBERT PARRISH. New York: Sears Publishing Company. \$2.50.

The first of these books is a very sincere piece of apologetics written by a member of the Anglican Order of the Holy Cross and directed primarily to believing lay folk. Its purpose is to explain in a conservative Anglican sense the articles of the Apostles' Creed together with a number of topics more or less intimately connected with the Creed, and to adduce proofs for the dogmas from reason, revelation, and experience. That a very genuine piety and a very zealous industry have inspired the work is evident on every one of its 477 pages and its 1096 additional notes. The writer presses into service an impressive array of quotations, arguments, and illustrations drawn from an extensive reading around his subject. All is grist for his apologetic mill, even poetry and verse. It is to be feared, however, that just for this reason—just because many of the arguments appear to be suggested rather by enthusiastic piety than by a calmly critical judgment—the book may fail to carry conviction to the unbeliever. Among the less satisfactory features may be mentioned the strained proofs from analogy and experience and a somewhat indiscriminating dependence upon the opinion of "authorities." We note that in treating the article "I believe in the Catholic Church" the author avoids the troublesome task of discovering which of the conflicting communions is the One Catholic Church founded by Christ as the infallible depository of truth. Let the thinking reader ask himself which of the Churches has unswervingly and uncompromisingly championed all the articles of the Creed and he will have an answer to this question also. The doctrinal "comprehensiveness" of the Anglican communion is brought rather painfully forward by the second book "What Is There Left to Believe?" written also by a minister of the Anglican Church. The title is a misnomer, because the author is speaking not of faith or belief but of feeling and emotion. For him religion has nothing to do with creeds but is reduced to a vague sentimentality and a contemptuous and, it must be added, ill-informed irritation against authority and tradition whether in belief or morals. All the while, however, he is unwittingly submitting his judgment to an unworthy authority and an unvenerable tradition, namely the pseudo-science and the garbled history and philosophy which parade under the guise of up-to-date thought. The book is a queer mixture of agnosticism and indifferentism with regard to the nature of God and religion, human responsibility and sin, and several other fundamentals of straight thinking. Hence we must take with a grain of salt the author's assurance that his own beliefs are conservative in a rather narrow sense and go beyond, if anything, the accepted faith. This profession is in open contradiction to the entire book. A truly enviable *facundia verborum* fails to conceal the shallowness of the thought. "Reason, after all," says Dr. Parrish, "is a very secondary thing!" J. H.

The Theatre From Athens to Broadway. By THOMAS WOOD STEVENS. New York: D. Appleton and Company. \$2.50.

Thomas Wood Stevens has compiled a compact and interesting history of the theater, as distinguished from the drama, tracing its recorded birth, from the fragmentary evidence we have, from the Greek to its present age. His purpose, he states in the prologue, is "to unroll the long record, and to suggest to the reader that it is not wholly a thing of chance, one show after another, but that there is, running through its entire course, a balance, a wave, and a rhythm." This is done with admirable suavity and clarity and with a fine, sure sense of the inceptions of periodical stagecraft from the feeble, fumbling efforts of the early Greeks down to the expressionism and constructivism of the dilettante futilists who dawdle upon the American scene. The history of the theater is more deeply studied in its English aspect. The record is chronologically developed with respect to the drama. The Ameri-

can scene commences with Daly, and is given over almost entirely to the theaters as such and the celebrated actors who walked their boards. The old familiar names of Molière, Macklin, Quin, Garrick, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Voltaire, and the Victorians, Phelps, Irving, Forbes-Robertson, and Benson, down to Ashe, Ainley, and Hampden, skip through the latter pages, and the star of the Thespian is given full if tempered acclaim. With the death of the actors' age and the advent of Shaw and Ibsen came what is often-times called the birth of the dramatists. Indeed, the author is unsparing in his appreciation of Ibsen, whose influence on Pinero, Henry Arthur Jones, and Grundy is not overlooked. He traces the renaissance of the drama, or as much as we have of it, directly and solely to Ibsen, who brought forward into the light, despite the unequalled resistance of contemporary critics, save Shaw and Archer, the structure of the play as we now enjoy it. The book closes with mention of Stanislawski, Reinhardt, and Gordon Craig, and their efforts in developing modern theatrical artistry, and with an expression of hope from the author that the "theater is not going to the dogs." As an historical and reference record, Stevens' book is a useful addition to the library of the theater.

J. C. D.

Hindenburg, The Man with Three Lives. By T. R. YBARRA. New York: Duffield and Green. \$3.00.

Fascinating and inspiring is Mr. Ybarra's study of Paul von Hindenburg, soldier, statesman, and patriot. It is not a deep analytical biography, such cannot yet be written, but rather it is a portrait drawn with rapid though true strokes. What a remarkable man stands out in this characterization, powerful, towering in strength, yet simple and modest, commanding yet courteous, courageous and heroic, yet kind, and a lover of little children. What is the secret of the man who fought for Prussia before the German Empire had begun, and now at eighty-five is the President of the Republic that rose on the ruins of that Empire? Mr. Ybarra says it is character devoted to the ideal of duty. As pages of the study unfold, one is tempted to say duty even more than force of character. It was duty that prompted the calling of the young soldier, and carried him through the hard years of military academy, the days of the Austrian-Prussian War, in which he was to receive a wound treasured as a badge of honor, and the days of the Franco-Prussian War. Duty quietly yet earnestly performed was the motive force of the unromantic, efficient years of a peace-time soldier, in which, because of his talents, he rose to the command of an army corps. Duty again brought the old retired general at the age of sixty-seven from his seclusion to the arduous days of the important Eastern Front command, in which Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes would bring imperishable laurels; it brought him to the superhuman tasks of the Supreme High Command at an age when most men are approaching their dotage. And in the terrible debacle at the end of the war, when the Kaiser was hustled out of Germany, when generals and chieftains were fleeing the land, duty kept the old and broken general at the front with his soldiers. Duty forced a tired old man of seventy-six in a very topsy-turvy world to become the President of a nation tottering on the precipice of anarchy, and by heroic effort to summon his aging strength to rule with the vigor of a man in his prime. Duty offers the only explanation of the constant and whole-hearted support given to Stresemann after Locarno and to Brüning against the Nazis, when such support forfeited life-long friendships, cut the deepest ties, and earned the bitterest recriminations and curses. Throughout his whole career, Paul von Hindenburg humbly and in a God-fearing spirit had one question only to guide him: "What is the best for the Fatherland?" Today at eighty-five, earnestly, if a trifle wearily, he is following the answer he has found in his conscience. M. P. H.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Biography.—"In My End Is My Beginning" (Knopf. \$3.75) by Maurice Baring has the misfortune of being published during the same year in which two other books on Mary Stuart were

issued. Both the others, "The Tragic Queen," by Andrew Dakers, and "The Prosecution of Mary Queen of Scots," by Sir Edward Parry, are of immense value to the general reader. This volume, however, has much to recommend it: first, the title taken from the motto embroidered on the Queen's chair of State; second, the method of telling the story which is unique. Each of the Queen's lady servitors, the most excellent Mary Fleming whom she loved best, the most learned Mary Beaton, the fairest Mary Livingstone, and the most dextrous with her fingers, Mary Seton, tells the story of her tragic Queen from the day she arrived in France until she was imprisoned at Lochleven. The first and last story end with the Queen's arrival on English soil. Appended to these accounts of the four Marys is the terse story of Jane Kennedy written from Fotheringay in February, 1587, with a last postscript from Peterborough in August of the same year. It is an ever-fascinating story but Mr. Baring's method for all its beauty of language and style is redundant and somewhat unsatisfying; so much is left out and the same things are put into the book four times. Some details stand out especially vivid. The Beaton story revels in the costumes the Queen wore. First Mary Stuart on Candlemas day, 1558, in white damask with point lace, on her head a white veil and around her neck and her waist a collar and a girdle of sapphires and rubies. Then we see the Queen "in the saddle with her skirts kirtled and a plume in her green velvet cap" . . . and later in the field "with pistols at her saddle bow and under her scarlet jacket a shirt of mail . . ." Besides the beauty of language the make-up of the volume is excellent. The binding, typography, and stamping are of the highest order, entirely fitting for the title and the subject.

Arthur Bryant deserves nothing but praise for his well-documented biography, "King Charles II" (Longmans, Green. \$3.50). By much industry and keen criticism he has succeeded in salvaging a just modicum of the reputation of a much maligned but fundamentally capable ruler. By removing the emphasis from the too evident moral delinquencies of Charles, the bon vivant, to the governmental difficulties which he faced and conquered, Bryant vindicates against the Whig tradition the fundamental sincerity and at least the temporary success of the Patriot King. At the same time, he does not attempt to gloss over the King's weaknesses, as when he did not intervene to stay the executions which followed in the wake of the spurious "Popish" plot of 1678. The whole make-up of the book, maps, illustrations, index, and well placed notes, might serve as a model for reconciling popular interest with scholarly authority.

Ernst Penzoldt in "The Marvellous Boy" (Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50) furnishes the latest biography of that seventeenth-century boy-poet, Thomas Chatterton. Mr. Penzoldt has woven probability with facts, and fashioned an interesting, fictionalized history of this gifted young dreamer, who spent his precocious childhood amid tumbling tombstones and fifteenth-century manuscripts; wrote poems of merit under an ancient assumed name, and thereby started "the Rowley Controversy" over their authorship; and, finally, facing starvation in London, took his own life before his eighteenth birthday. Certain passages in this work will bar it from convent library shelves.

Pulpit and Platform.—The so-called self-made man and the man who in any sense aspires to leadership is conscious of the importance of being able to express his thoughts clearly and effectively to groups whether from the public platform, at the banquet table, or in business conferences. To offer some helps to ambitious speakers, Charles W. Mears has compiled "Public Speaking for Executives" (Harper. \$3.00). It makes no pretense at being a complete discussion either of the rules of rhetoric or of oral delivery, but in a practical way the author treats of the fundamentals and essentials for successful speaking. One wonders, however, just on what principle the bibliography recommended for the ambitious speaker to read has been compiled. No one who does not think correctly will speak wisely, and such guides as Dewey, Dorsey, Watson, and others are of very questionable value.

Six sermons on the priesthood, each occasioned by the first Mass

of a brother clergyman, marks the content of "Vessels of Election" (San Francisco: Gilmartin. \$1.25) by the Rev. Alexander J. Cody, S.J. While a good deal of the personal element naturally enters into these discourses, the author brings out with great diversity of treatment, the nature and dignity of the priesthood, the relation of the Faithful to their clergy, and the beauty of the sacerdotal vocation. There is also in the sermons an amount of information about the practical work our American clergy are today engaged in for God and for souls.

In his "Meeting the Challenge of Modern Doubt" (Macmillan. \$2.00), Dr. James G. Gilkey has not lost perspective. He likely never had it. His state of mind is analogous to that of the college youth he so creditably seeks to help. Youth's mind envisages the immediate future and the immediate past, so insistent with it is the demand of the present. How youth came to be what it is and how it will grow into what it is to become are to youth problems secondary to the use and enjoyment of the day and hour. Dr. Gilkey's past and future, unlike youth's, cover more than a year or a decade; they run to a century or two. Had he trusted his historical sense more fully he would have let them run to many centuries. Most things, like people, can only rightly be judged in long courses. Judging religion is no exception. Protestantism as a form of it was born late in the world and not born well. Its early decline and impending demise may be a grief to its best adherents. But if they be good philosophers of history they will accept the inevitable, recognizing the final operation of that within Protestantism which were ever forces of decay.

"As I See It," (Macmillan. \$2.00) is a collection of essays and papers of recent date by Norman Thomas, written in a forceful and clear style. These papers are little more than the vapor of destructive criticism such as socialists like to indulge in. Like all Marxians and the present-day radicals, Thomas roundly condemns and despises a capitalistic government for imposing its principles and methods on an unwilling society; but "As I See It" is most emphatic in doing the same.

Books Received.—This list is published, without recommendation, for the benefit of our readers. Some of the books will be reviewed in later issues.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN MEXICAN RELATIONS. James Morton Callahan. \$4.00. Macmillan.
 AS I SEE RELIGION. Harry Emerson Fosdick. \$2.00. Harper.
 BLACK SWAN, THE. Rafael Sabatini. \$2.00. Houghton Mifflin.
 CLEGG'S INTERNATIONAL BOOKTRADE DIRECTORY, 1930-1931. R. R. Bowker Co.
 ENGLAND. Ronald Carton. \$2.50. Macmillan.
 ENGLISH LAKES, THE. W. T. Palmer. \$3.00. Farrar and Rinehart.
 EVOLUTION AND RELIGION. Rev. John A. O'Brien. \$2.50. Century.
 FIRST PRINCIPLES OF CHEMISTRY. Raymond B. Brownlee, Robert W. Fuller, William J. Hancock, Michael D. Schon, and Jesse E. Whitsitt. Allyn and Bacon.
 FIRST PRINCIPLES OF PHYSICS. Robert W. Fuller, Raymond B. Brownlee, and D. Lee Baker. Allyn and Bacon.
 FLORIDA HANDBOOK OF FACTS. Charles M. Farney. Published by the author.
 HISTORY OF SCIENCE. A. Sir William Dampier. \$4.00. Macmillan.
 HORROR OF IT, THE. Frederick A. Barber. \$1.50. Brewer, Warren & Putnam.
 INQUISITION, THE. Hoffman Nickerson. \$4.00. Houghton Mifflin.
 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ST. TERESA. Rev. Father Xavier, O.F.M. \$2.00. Herder.
 KING'S CREW. Frank R. Adams. \$2.00. Long and Smith.
 LECCIONES DE APOLOGICA, VOL. I AND II. Nicolas Marín Negueruela. Tipografía Católica Casals.
 LIFE OF HORACE WALPOLE, THE. Stephen Gwynn. \$4.50. Houghton Mifflin.
 NUTRITION SERVICE IN THE FIELD. \$2.00. Century.
 ONE THOUSAND MOST FREQUENT GERMAN WORDS, THE. Edited by Hermann Meier. 10 cents. Oxford University Press.
 ORGANIZATION FOR THE CARE OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN. \$2.75. Century.
 PIGEON IRISH. Francis Stuart. \$2.00. Macmillan.
 POETRY AND CRITICISM OF THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT. Edited by Oscar James Campbell, J. F. A. Pyre, and Bennett Weaver. \$3.50. Crofts.
 PRIMER OF MONEY. A. Donald B. Woodward and Marc A. Rose. \$2.00. McGraw-Hill.
 PROBLEM OF CRIME, THE. Clayton J. Ettinger. \$3.00. Long and Smith.
 PULITZER PRIZE MURDERS. The. Dorothy Heyward. \$2.00. Farrar and Rinehart.
 RED ROOM, THE. Geoffrey Dennis. \$2.00. Simon and Schuster.
 SAINTE THERESE DE L'ENFANT-JÉSUS ET DE LA SAINTE FACE. Serge Barault. 10 francs. Editions Publiroc.
 SO YOU'RE GOING TO IRELAND AND SCOTLAND. Clara E. Laughlin. \$3.50. Houghton Mifflin.
 TREASURE OF THE LITURGY, THE. Rev. N. Maas. \$2.25. Bruce.
 TWENTY BEST SHORT STORIES IN RAY LONG'S TWENTY YEARS AS AN EDITOR. \$3.00. Long and Smith.
 WITH JESUS TO THE PRIESTHOOD. Jules Grimal. \$2.75. Dolphin Press.
 WOMAN IN BLACK, THE. Herbert Adams. \$2.00. Lippincott.
 WORDS OF THE MISSAL, THE. C. C. Martindale, S.J. \$2.00. Macmillan.
 YEARBOOK OF AGRICULTURE, 1931. Edited by Milton S. Eisenhower. \$1.50. United States Department of Agriculture.
 YOUNG REVOLUTIONIST, THE. Pearl S. Buck. \$1.50. John Day.

David's Day. The House of Wives. Damning Trifles. Midsummer Night Madness.

"Number Sixty-seven, Pocklington Road. Off Ardlers Road. Which is off Marefield Road. Which is off the High Street." And after a sightseeing tour conducted by the author we finally meet Mr. Elbert Coffin at his home on Pocklington Road, and with the author and Mr. Coffin we begin "David's Day" (Houghton, Mifflin. \$2.50) by Denis Mackail. The notion of the book is not new. How different everything would have been for hundreds of people if so and so hadn't done such and such on that particular morning, has been played with by historians as well as by novelists. The happy report to be made about this book is Mr. Mackail's success in talking interestingly about all the sorts of folk he introduces in the course of that London day, and in the surprising skill with which he can interlock a decision of a novelist working in his study with the chance quarrel of children outside his window when it seemed that surely the incidents of the playing young people could not be connected with any of the other threads. But what David's Day is you will find out only on the last page, although it caused the disagreement that started the book in the morning on the first page.

Elizabeth Hamilton Herbert has written a second novel, "The House of Wives" (Farrar, Rinehart. \$2.00). It is a rather remarkable demonstration of the dreadful evil of our educational system, which can make a man or woman articulate, without equipping them with anything to say, or enabling them to recognize that they have nothing to say. The story is correctly carpentered. It follows all the formulas for novel writing given in Course 3816B in any proper modern college or university. The characters are all "types": gruff business man with a heart of gold, willowy grass widow without any inhibitions, pathetic little boy without a mother's love, etc., etc. It has a plot, at least a string of incidents, many of them well enough observed "from life." But there is no humanity in the whole thing. Not merely does it lack the essential comedy or tragedy of life; it is not soundly convincing even in the trivialities of life. It is as unreal as a musical comedy. The author takes wise-cracking for wit, and cheap burlesque for humor. She would possibly be shocked and hurt if told that her story is definitely immoral; and the reason she might be shocked is because she knows her story is not obscene. And when one thinks of how seriously this sort of story is taken in the Ladies' Reading Clubs, one is almost driven to becoming a misogynist—and is saved from that awful fate only by remembering that the author of "The House of Wives" is herself so clearly a misogynist.

A news reporter is the shining intellect in "Damning Trifles" (Knopf. \$2.00) by Maurice C. Johnson. At first, the reader suspects that he is in for just another of those stories where the police cannot see the most obvious clues and make the simplest deductions, while the untrained amateur sees all, interprets all, and solves all. However, there is a reason for the official stupidity, as the denouement shows. The murder setting is an interesting version of the sealed-room crime. The plot is cleverly developed, suspense is sustained, and the culprit cleverly hidden to the end. For that reason one forgives the author the terribly stilted conversations that mar many of his pages.

When the pseudo-Irish group of writers descended to the lower depths of human nature for their themes, their lapse was blamed upon their non-Irish heredity and environment. But now, several total-Irish writers have become warped in the pattern of the pseudo-Irish. Sean O'Faolain is as evil-inclined as any of his worst contemporaries in his "Midsummer Night Madness" (Viking. \$2.50). Gone are the virtues which made Ireland the island of saints; gone is the high ideal of patriotism; gone is the reverence for God and man. These short stories all exemplify the varieties of sin in word and thought and deed of which the Irish, especially about the time of the fighting for the Republic, were capable. Edward Garnett writes the Foreword; he champions the filth, and laments the virtue of Ireland, and asserts that Mr. O'Faolain is an artist. And he makes an occasion to attack the rightest of Irish critics, Daniel Corkery.

Communications

Letters to ensure publication should not, as a rule, exceed 500 words. The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.

A Correction

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In a recent issue you have an article by the late Mark O. Shriver. In it he gave Wilson 435 votes of 523 in the Electoral College of 1912. It should have included eight electoral votes for Taft, making 531.

Brooklyn.

FRANK H. WALSH.

Charles Carroll's Centenary

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I wonder if any of your readers could inform me of any organized effort to observe the centenary of the death of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in November 1932.

In my estimation some recognition of this fact should be taken, not for the purpose of smugly satisfying our Catholic ego, but principally for the purpose of making our people realize that we are not merely thankless heirs of liberty, but active, conscientious guardians of the principles Carroll advocated.

Jersey City.

CATHERINE D. LUNDELL.

Then and Now

To the Editor of AMERICA:

It would seem that the policy of AMERICA has undergone a change of heart in the course of a decade. In the issue of April 16, 1932, the Editor warns the youth of America to beware of entering politics: "We hope that the young men (at Yale) are right, but we would hesitate to advise them to go into politics."

In the issue of March 22, 1919 (page 614), we find the following editorial, "Forward the Politician." I shall quote a few lines:

We have come to regard all politicians as undesirable persons, and all politics as a mucker's game, and because of this we have suffered much loss. It is this disposition which may lead us to disregard or disdain the pronouncement recently issued by a national campaign manager, "What we now need," said this gentleman, "is not less politics, but more politics."

The adjectives may not be well chosen, but the advice is sound, if "politics" be understood in the sense of an active and intelligent interest in civil government. Every citizen is a part of this Republic, and his chief function, as such, is to vote with discernment. . . . A lively interest in public affairs . . . does not imply participation in dubious or dishonest practices, but the reverse. Popular government will prove a curse instead of a blessing, if by their lethargy honest citizens allow it to fall into the hands of self-seeking professional patriots, or well-meaning but destructive zealots. . . . The forces of radicalism are well organized and the program which they propose to establish is clearly defined. Our own program is sharp and definite, but our organization is weak. An appeal to force of arms, after all the harm is wrought, may be ineffective. But it will never be needed if we learn in time the power of the vote.

If ever the rank of political life should be recruited from honest and fearless men, now is the time. The Catholic Church has a solution for the ills of man. Why should her children be warned against the avenue that will help to make this vale of tears a little more liveable? The editorial, "An Unclean Profession," seems to be the product of an unguarded moment.

Hales Corners, Wis.

BERNARD HERDA.

Quietism in St. Louis

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In the city of St. Louis words have apparently a special significance. Else how can one account for your correspondent, Patrick Graney, referring to the clergy of that city is infected "with the Quietist doctrine you preach in your editorial"? Quietism preached in a Jesuit journal is, indeed, a novelty! Unless Quietism

in St. Louis is something totally different from that Quietism whose condemnation the Jesuits themselves brought about, the clergy of that city are, indeed, infected!

It is bad rhetoric, too, to compare the profession of the priesthood with the profession of politics. The one is a Divinely constituted Order and, as your correspondent properly says, "if every priest in the world were vicious the priesthood would still be holy." But politics is not a profession in that sense; it is merely a species of statecraft, and grossly opportunistic at that—a craft, and a very crafty craft. Had your correspondent used the science of government as his second analogy, he would have been more justified. But the craft of politics is exactly what has been said of it, "An Unclean Profession."

New York.

H. C. W.

Brignole Sale Alumni

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I know how interested AMERICA is in the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin, and I have confidence that through your columns a message will surely reach all the priests who contemplate making the pilgrimage next June.

May I beg you for the great favor made at the request of Very Rev. G. Cocchi, C.M., Superior of the Brignole Sale College for Foreign Missions, Via Fassolo, 29, Genoa, Italy, that all the alumni of this famous missionary college be informed through your weekly that to them is extended a most urgent and hearty invitation to pay a visit to their Alma Mater during the joint celebration of the Feast of St. Vincent de Paul and of the Diamond Jubilee of Brignole Sale College, July 17-19, during which time a fraternal congress of all the Brignole will be held?

White Castle, La.

RT. REV. MSGR. A. DE MAURIZI.

The Negro and Communism

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The Negro's economic and social status at this time makes him an unwilling target of Communism. Naturally he reaches out for relief from his deplorable condition; but he will not prove a willing convert to a false principle that refuses to credit him with a tradition of patriotism and loyalty to the sacred principles for which his Government stands and upon which it was founded.

The Negro stands most in need of an education which will help him to maintain the deep-seated Christian principles with which he is endowed, and in this Catholic education will prove the factor which will enable him to safeguard and preserve his natural spiritual gifts.

The Communists' program is one of destructiveness rather than constructiveness. Its appeal is to the emotions and passions of the Negro. It fosters and promotes racial antipathy and is harmful to the furtherance of inter-racial good will and better understanding. The Negro's rich endowment of a deep spiritual nature, his natural loyalty and faithfulness to the fundamentals of life, preclude any appreciable conversion to the strange doctrines of Communism. The Communist would have him believe that only through the acceptance of his teachings may the Negro come into his own.

The Negro's education has been directed mostly toward the development of the material rather than his religious nature. Protestantism has not brought to him the returns in religious and material life which he anticipated. He now turns to the Catholic Church to redeem him from the false philosophy having the form of Christianity, which he has heretofore been taught.

The federation of Colored Catholic societies is doing much in solving the Negro's religious, economic, and social problems. There is a growing interest in the work and achievements of this federation; and its influence is far reaching among the masses of the Negroes of America.

Catholic training (including college and university) will solve many, if not all, of the Negro's problems.

Cincinnati.

GEORGE W. B. CONRAD, LL.B.

Vice-Pres. Federated Colored Catholics.